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Annals

OF THE

CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND SCOTS;

AND OF

STRATHCLYDE, CUMBERLAND, GALLOWAY,

AND MURRAY.

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Scots are mentioned by no historian earlier than Ammianus Marcellinus, under the year 360. It has, indeed, been frequently asserted that Porphyry, a celebrated pagan philosopher, about the year 267, in a work against the christian religion, now lost, declared that "neither Britain, a province fertile of tyrants, and the Scotish nations (*Scotticæ gentes*), and all the barbarous nations thereabout as far as the ocean, had known Moses and the prophets:" but, as some copies of saint Jeromes epistle to Ctesiphon against Pelagius, in which the passage is preserved, read (not *Scotticæ*, but) *Scythicæ gentes*, which seems most likely to be Porphyrys genuine expression, this instance cannot be relied

on.* In the panegyric of Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, addressed in Rome, to the emperor Theodosius the elder, in the year 361, they are again noticed: "Redactum ad paludes suas *Scotum* loquar?" (Shall I speak of the Scot driven to his marshes?) The name, likewise, occurs in the poet Claudian, about the year 400, where, speaking of the count Theodosius, he says,

> "Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
> Edomuit; *Scotum*que vago mucrone secutus
> Fregit Hyperboreas remus audacibus undas."

Again:

> "*Scotorum* cumulos flevit glacialis *Ĭërne*."

* *Hieronymus adversus Pelagium ad Ctesiphontem* (*Opera*, *Parisiis*, 1534, to. 2, fo. 91, 6). Innes, however, maintains the passage not to be of Porphyry, but of saint Jerome himself; which seems a mistake: but, clearly, had Porphyry intended the Scots of Ireland or Britain, he would have written *Scotica gens*; whereas there were many Scythian nations, with which the Greeks had been acquainted even from the time of Herodotus; but it is highly improbable they should ever have heard of so obscure and comparatively modern a people as the Scots; and, in fact, no synonimous term for either *Scotus* or *Scotia* is to be found in the Greek. The word *Scythicas*, in the verses of *Florus*, upon the emperor Hadrian, preserved by Spartian, and before quoted, has, likewise, been conjectured to mean *Scoticas*; though it apparently means no more than *Borealis*.

Again:

> "Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis;
> Quæ *Scoto* dat pæna truci——"

Again:

> "—— totam quum *Scotus* Iërnen
> Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

St Jerome, in his 83d epistle, says, "*Scottorum* et *Atticorum* [r. *Atticotorum*] ritu, ac de republica Platonis, promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habeant;" and, in his second book against Jovian, asserts that, when a youth, in Gaul, he had himself seen the Scots, a British nation, eat human flesh: "Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim *Scotos*, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus?"* These Scots appear to have settled, or established themselves, during the third century, in Hibernia, or Ireland, to which, in process of time, they gave the new name of *Scotia*, or Scotland.† This country, it ap-

* Leland appears to have seen "a picture upon glass, which was in the cloister of Strenshall [abbey, a little above Whitby], shewed the Scots who inhabited near the confines of the Engles, to have been, even to the times of William the bastard, and this barbarity to have been punished by the Williamites." (*Collectanea*, III, 40.)

† It is called *Iernis*, by Orpheus of Crotona, in his Argonauticks, 526 years before Christ; *Iërne*, by Aristotle, Strabo,

pears, was already inhabited by the Hiberni, or Hiberiones, of whose origin, any more than that of the Scots, nothing is known, but by conjecture, that the former were a colony from Britain.* The distinc-

Stephen of Byzantium, and Claudian; *Iris*, by Diodorus Siculus; *Iouernia*, by Ptolemy and Marcianus; *Iuverna*, by Mela, Juvenal, and Solinus; *Hibernia*, by Cæsar, Pliny, Tacitus, Orosius, Bede, &c.; *Hiberione* or *Hiberia*, by saint Patrick, and in the itinerary of Antoninus; *Iren*, by the biographer of saint Gildas; and *Scotia*, or *insula Scotorum*, by Isidore, Ceolfrid, Bede, Eginhard, &c. &c. The inhabitants, apparently from the name of the island, have been called by ancient writers, *Hiberni*, *Hiberiones*, *Iri*, *Irenses*, and *Scotti* or *Scoti*.

The name of *Scotia*, however, seems not to be peculiarly appropriated either to Ireland or to the north of Britain: "Anno DCC.XIII, Pipinus moritur. Franci vero denuo in *Scotia silva*, in Theobaldum et Austrios inuerunt; et post multam hinc inde stragem, Theobaldus vix fugæ consilio evasit." (Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*.) (Leibnitz, Scrip. Bruns. I.) (*De regno Francorum*, &c.) King Alfred, likewise, in his translation of Orosius, has a Scotland in the Mediterranean, to the westward; but without any countenance from his original. See B. 1, c. 1.

* Propertius, who died some years before the birth of Christ, has,

"*Hiberni*que *Getæ*, pictoque Britannia curru;"

which Ware, or Harris, takes to allude to the *Hiberni* of Ireland. It is, however, nothing more than an epithet (*wintry*) to the *Getæ* or Goths, who lived in northern regions. Gildas calls the Scots "*Hiberni grassatores*;" and even Eumenius, in 296, where he joins the *Hiberni* with the *Picti*, seems to mean the same people.

tion between these two nations is manifested in an ancient treatise, supposed to have been written by saint Patrick, and entitled his *Confession* or *Apology*, in which the *Scotti*, as being the conquerors, masters, and military men, appear as the nobility, or gentry; *filii Scottorum et filiæ regulorum;* which he repeats, joining, in both places, the *Scotti* and *reguli*, as being synonimous equivalent terms; and adding, generally, to the name *Scottus*, that of *regulus* or *nobilis;* whereas he never calls the native Irish any thing but *Hiberionæ*, as being the commons and ordinary people.* This new race of the Scots is brought, as usual, from *Scythia*, or *Scandinavia*, the officina gentium, or manufactory of nations.† In support of this hypothesis, it is pretend-

* Innes, p. 517.

† Nennius, from the information of the most learned Scots (*peritissimi Scotorum*), relates, that, when the Egyptians, pursuing the children of Israel, were drowned in the red sea, there was, in those days, a nobleman of *Scythia* among the Egyptians, expelled from his kingdom, who would not go in pursuit of the people of god. Being, therefore, banished, and wandering through various countries, he arrived at length in Spain, whence, after inhabiting there for many years, he came to Hibernia, 2000 years after the drowning of the Egyptians in the red sea. This noble *Scythian* was also son-in-law to Pharaoh, *i. e.* the husband of his daughter *Scota*, from whom, as was reported, *Scotia* (*i. e.* Ireland) was called. (C. 9.) As Bede

ed, that the names *Scotus* and *Scytha* are not only synonimous, but that the former is a mere corruption of the latter!

> "Dicitur à Githia Geticus, seu Gothia Gothi;
> Dicitur à *Sithia Sithicus*, sic *Scotia Scoti*."*

Ralph de Diceto, about the year 1210, accounts for this perversion in the manner of a modern etymo-

does not say that the Scots came from Scythia, the notion seems to have no better foundation than this ridiculous Irish fable of Nennius. He has already, in another, equally absurd, brought them from Spain: "*Novissimè*," he says, "Last of all came the Scots from the parts of Spain to Ireland (cc. 6 and 7.)" He brings them, however, from time to time, and then says, "Last of all (*Novissimè*) came *Clamhocter*, and there inhabited, with all his nation, unto this day:" though, after all, he, or his interpolator, allows that "no certain history of the origin of the Scots is to be found." (C. 8.) "The Britons," he says, "came in the third age of the world to Britain, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Scots* (Scythæ *autem*, *i. e.* Scoti) in the fourth age of the world obtained Ireland." His third age is from Abraham to David; his fourth from David to Daniel. See also *Polychronicon*, B. 1, p. 185. Bertram says, that a MS. Herodotus reads Σκυλοσκύθας. What Herodotus is that? "The Irish writers," according to mr. Pinkerton, "uniformly say that the Scots were Scythians, and so Nennius tells us expressly . . . . If we deny," he adds, "the Scots to have been Scythians, we must reject all the Irish accounts, ancient and modern." (*Enquiry*, II, 46.) There is, however, no Irish

* *Chro. rythmicum* (Innes.)

logist: "A regione quadam quæ dicitur *Scitia*, dicitur *Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia.* Similiter à regione quadam quæ dicitur *Getia*, dicitur *Geta, Geticus, Goticus, Gotus, Ostrogotus, Witsigotus:* which serves to remind one of the ludicrous etymology of *Golden Pippin: "Hooper, cooper, diaper, napkin, pipkin, king Pepin,* golden Pippin." *Q.E.D.* Nennius, it is true, who brings

writer of any antiquity or repute, who maintains this opinion; and with respect to Nennius, who seems to be the father of it, his work is justly characterized by mr. Pinkerton himself "as the weakest that ever bore the name of history: Its fables" being "so childish and grotesque as to disgrace the human mind." (II, 288.) He calls the *Scots Scythæ*, and brings them from *Egypt* and *Spain!* The remark of *Reinerus Rinectius*, "that at this day the name of the *Scythians* survives in that of the *Scots*," is a false and absurd conceit. Mr. Pinkerton, who says that "in person the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow, and red hair, and blue eyes: the grand features of the *Goths* [as all, or most of them, are likewise of the *Celts*], in all ancient writers," adds, that "The Highlanders are generally diminutive, with brown complexions, and almost always with black curled hair and dark eyes." (*Enquiry*, II., 340). These Highlanders, or Irish Scots, cannot, therefore, upon his own hypothesis, be a race of Scythians, as he elsewhere asserts, and pretends to prove, that the *Scythæ* and *Scoti*, and the *Scythæ* and *Gothi*, are one and the same people: consequently, if such an absurd system could have been supported, there would be no Celts in either Britain or Ireland.

the Scots from Spain, uses promiscuously the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti* for the same people: but it is by no means clear that Gildas calls the passage, through which the Scots used to invade the provincial Britons, *Scythica vallis;* the word *Scythica* being, in fact, to be found in no ancient MSS.: all which, on the contrary, read *Styticam,* and *Tithicam;* for which Gale and Bertram propose *Theticam;* but the true emendation is undoubtedly *Tethicam:* the word *Tethys* being repeatedly used by Claudian (an author very likely to be consulted by Gildas) for the British sea:

> "—— totam quum *Scotus Iërnen*
> Movit et infesto spumavit remige *Tethys.*"

Again:

> "—— Domito quod Saxone *Tethys*
> Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto."

It is, at the same time, utterly improbable that Ammianus Marcellinus, and the other writers of his age, had they meant to call this people *Scythæ,* would have written it *Scoti:* for why should they call one branch of the *Scythæ Scoti,* and not the whole? Orosius, too, who wrote in the 5th century, has much about the ancient *Scythæ,* but calls the inhabitants of Hibernia and Menevia *Scotorum gen-*

*tes.** It is, therefore, a solemn and notorious fact, that no ancient or respectable writer ever calls the Scots of Ireland *Scythæ,* or the Scythians themselves *Scoti.*

Richard of Cirencester, in opposition to Bede, who affirms the Scots to be strangers, supposes them to have had their origin from Britain; and says, most certain it is that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes, Cangi, and other nations [of Ireland] were of British origin, which passed over thither after either Devitiacus, or Claudius, or Ostorius, or other successful commanders, had disturbed them at home; alleging, by way of further argument, their ancient tongue, which, he says, agrees not a little with that of Britain and Gaul. This reasoning, however, will apply better to the Hiberni than the Scoti. He enumerates, among the inhabitants, the Ibernii, the Brigantes, the Menapii, the Cauci (both of Teutonick origin), the Eblanæ, the Voluntii, the Damnii, the Coriondi, and the Scoti; but of what age his materials were cannot be precisely ascertained. Ptolemy, indeed, names the Auteri,

* King Alfred, in his translation of this author, has *Sceottas* (not *Scyttas*) and Scotland (*i. e.* Ireland). He calls the Scythians *Sciththicon.* In his translation of Bede he has *Scottas, Scotta, Scottum.* It is not, therefore, true, as mr. Pinkerton pretends, that he ever writes *Scytise* for *Scottise.*

Brigantes, Cauci, Coriondi, Darnii, or Darini, Eblani, or Blanii, Erdini, Gargani, Menapii, Magnatæ, or Magnati, Robogdii, Udiæ, or Vodiæ, Uterni, Vellubri, or Velliberi, Vennicnii, and Voluntii, or Usuntii: to which Orosius adds the Luceni; and Richard, the Ibernii, and Scotti. But why these Roman names should be given to people whom the Romans never conquered, nor even visited, or what authority Ptolemy had for the geography of the country, one is at a loss to conceive.

That the Scots, Scoti, or Scotti, were a Celtic race,* is proved by their language, which, from the names, words, fragments, and even entire works, of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, centuries still preserved,† appears to be not only radically, but

* They called themselves *Gaël*, *Gaitheli*: "*Anegathel* dicitur quasi *margo Scottorum* seu *Hybernensium*: quia omnes *Hybernenses* & *Scotti* generaliter *Gaitheli* dicuntur, a quodam eorum primævo duce *Gathelglas* vocato." *Desitii Albaniæ* (Innes.)

† Usher, from an ancient life of St Albe, quotes a couplet in Scotish or Irish rime, by saint Patrick. See, also, Wares *Irish writers*, as improved by Harris. They cannot indeed produce original MSS. any more than other people, neither is their production necessary to establish the fact. An excellent Irish scholar, Theophilus O'Flanagan, in 1785, discovered and decyphered an inscription in the Irish language, and the Ogham character, upon the sepulchral stone of Conan, a warrior, who was slain the year preceding the battle of Gabhra in 296, and

identically, the same with that of the native Irish of the present day, which is universally acknowledged to be a dialect of the ancient Celtic. Ireland, after its conversion to Christianity, in the 5th century* was the seat of religion, literature, and science; inviting the studious from all quarters, and supplying the neighbouring nations, even England itself, with learned priests.

Little more need be said about the Scots. They are never mentioned, at least under that name, by either Ptolemy, Dio, or Herodian, much less by Tacitus; and the *SCOTTI*, which appear, in large characters, in Richards Roman map of Ireland, as a people occupying a considerable extent of country, may be fairly presumed to have been introduced on his own authority. A colony of these Scots, under the con-

which was expressly referred to in an ancient Irish poem on that battle. This inscription could be read five different ways, as this very ingenious gentleman has satisfactorily proved. See *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Volume I. Mr. Pinkerton, it is true, "from perusal of the Annals of Ulster," is "fully convinced that the names of not only the Irish monarchs but of most of the provincial kinglets, are *Gothic*." (*Enquiry*, II. 47). An opinion, to make use of his own words, "absolutely false, ignorant, and childish." (I. 163.)

* St Palladius, according to Bede, was first sent by pope Celestin, in 431, to the Scots that believed in Christ. (B. I. c. 13.) He never mentions saint Patrick, who is supposed to have arrived thither in the same year.

duct of Riada, or Reuda, is supposed, by Bede and others, to have settled in the west part of Albany, or modern Scotland, at some uncertain period, probably in the 4th or 5th century;* but being, it is

* Mr Pinkerton has placed the Scots in Britain A. C. 258, a fact for which he quotes Beda, L. 1, c. 6, and O'Conor. Bede, however, says nothing, from which a settlement of that, or, indeed, any other specific period, can be inferred; and O'Conor is a weak and credulous writer, of no authority, in a matter of ancient history, nor is either Kennedy, or Toland, a whit better; for, although mr. Pinkerton pretends of the former that "he generally quotes MS. page and column," the only one he actually cites is *the book of Lecan*, taken, it seems, out of the *Psalter of Cashel*, a fabulous compilation of no antiquity. In every other respect he is perfectly ignorant and contemptible, following the romantic lies of Bois and Buchanan with the most implicit servility. Even mr. Pinkerton himself, who has recourse to the evidence of these incredible witnesses, allows they may be thought "but poor supports of Beda's authority." In fact, they are no support at all, any more than Geoffrey of Monmouth, or Geoffrey Keating, and do not deserve to be quoted, or even read. No such expedition, nor even such a person as *Riada* or *Reuda*, is ever noticed by Tigernac, or *Flannus à monasterio* (or Flan of Bute), as quoted by Usher and O'Flaherty, or in the Ulster Annals, or any other ancient, in short, or authentic monument: it remains, therefore, on the sole authority of Bede. There are, at the same time, many passages in no modern writers to countenance a settlement of the Scots in Britain, anterior to that of Fergus MacErc, in 496, 498, or 503. "In Britain also," as we are told by Nennius, "Historeth the son of Istorinus held Dalrieta with his people" (c. 8). "The Scots from

conjectured, not long after, driven out by the Picts, another still more formidable and populous, under

Ireland," according to an ancient but anonymous life of saint Patrick, cited by Usher (p. 306), " under their king Neill Nægiallach [whose reign O'Flaherty makes to commence 379] wasted much divers provinces of Britain against the Roman empire, in the reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine: beginning to waste the north part of Britain: and, afterward, by battles and fleets, the Hibernians expelled the inhabitants of that land; and inhabited these themselves. Saint Patrick, therefore," it adds, " was led captive to Ireland in the first year of the reign of the emperor Julian the apostate, who reigned after Constantinus [A. C. 361]; and in the ninth year of the reign of Neill Nægiallach, king of Ireland, who reigned powerfully 27 years, and who much wasted Britain and England, as far as the sea which is between Gaul and England, and there fell in battle." This Neil [Nellus magnus] possessing the monarchy of Ireland, the six sons of Mured king of Ulster, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, " in no small fleet, occupied the northern parts of Britain, whence, also, a nation by them propagated, and called by a specific word *Scotish*, inhabit that corner to this day." (*Topo. Hiber. Distinc.* 3, c. 16.) This, however, seems to allude to the establishment, in 496 or 503, by three of the *six* (or *twelve*) sons of Erc, of the royal family of Ireland, and chief of the Dalriads in the north of that island. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 465. It may be proved, at the same time, by both Gildas and Bede, that the Scots were settled in the north-west of Britain before the year 450; and, from Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, that they had even infested those parts from the middle of the preceding century: but, it must be confessed, they are altogether unnoticed by Tacitus, Ptolemy, Dio, Herodian, and Eutropius, as well as in the Roman topography of Richard of Cirencester.

the command of Fergus, or of himself and his two brothers Loarn and Angus, three of the sons of Erc, a petty king or lord of Ireland, arrived in the year 496, or, according to some, in 498, and, to others, in 503. These Scots possessed, under the name of Dalriada, or Dalrieta (that of their ancient seat), the whole of Argyle, a province of much greater extent, at that period, than the present sheriffdom,* together, it is probable, with the Hebrides, or western isles; and had their proper sovereigns till the year 843; when Kenneth MacAlpin, by whatever means, obtained the Pictish crown, and left the united kingdoms to his successors.†

The ancient history of the Irish, as well as that of the British Scots, is obscured and polluted by a number of the most extravagant and absurd fables,

* See Macphersons *Geographical illustrations.* "The kingdom of the Scots in Britain, called sometimes *Regnum Dalrietæ*, or *Dalriedæ*, according to Innes, "included in those times all the western islands, together with the countries of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdayl, Cowell, Kentyre, Lochabyr, and a part of Braid-Albayn." *Critical Essay*, p. 87. They and their territory were divided from the Pictish dominions by two branches of the Grampian hills, or Drum-Alban; the one to the north, from Athole to Knoydart, or Aresaick; and the other to the south-east, from Athole, through Braid-Albayn, by Loch-Lomond, toward the mouth of Clyde. *Ibid.*

* See the "Introduction" to *The Annals of the Picts.*

in which even their best modern writers, with an exception of Ware and Usher, seem to place implicit belief; and which, though, in all probability, of very recent date, they cite as of immense and impossible antiquity. The only genuine documents they have are certain ancient annals; those of Tigernac, for instance, who died in 1080, of Ulster, and of Innisfallen; the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and the synchronisms of *Flannus à monasterio*, or Flan of Bute, who died in 1056; together with a few passages in the earliest lives of some of their saints; all which, as they afford no countenance to the lying legends, and antediluvian peregrinations of this ignorant, bigotted, and barbarous people, are neglected and despised.*

* Even the latest writer upon the antiquities of Ireland, and, undoubtedly, an Irishman himself, though so sceptical as to dispute the very existence of saint Patrick, takes, like mr. Pinkerton, the Fins, Firbolgs, and Tuath-de-Danans, of Irish romance, for real and authentic history: which, in the words of the evangelist, is to "strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel."

General Vallancey, in his "Critico-historical dissertation concerning the laws of the ancient Irish," (being Number IV. of the "*Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*,") says, "I hope I need not make [those who interest themselves in Irish antiquities] any apology, for delivering into their hands, in its original simplicity, what I have found in the *Codex Momomiensis*, concerning the kings of Dal-cassian race, from the IId century to the beginning of the IX.: after which I shall pur-

The name of Scotia, or Scotland, as elsewhere observed, was never attributed to the country now so called, before the eleventh century, when the Scots, being in the full and peaceable possession of the whole, thought proper to substitute that appellation in lieu of its more ancient name of Albania, or Albany; their primitive dialect continuing in use, with both prince and people, till the reign of Malcolm III. surnamed *Can-more*, in 1057;* from

sue their history, connected with that of the Eugenian princes, and other kings of the different provinces of Ireland, according to the authority of THE BEST ANNALS, particularly those of *Inisfallen*, *Tighernach*, and his continuator, with those of *Magradan*, the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and of *Clonmacnoiss*, OF ALL WHICH I HAVE OLD AND WELL AUTHENTICATED COPIES." (P. 425.) How far the veracity of this Phœnico-Chaldaic-Anglo-Hibernian antiquary may be relied on, is manifest from his private letter to a friend at Dublin, dated some day in October, or November, 1798, (as appeared by a transmitted extract,) in which he said, "I have NEVER SEEN the *Chron. Scot.*, and what EXTRACTS I have given were FROM OTHER BOOKS:" so that all this pretended history is mere fable and romance. A copy, however, of the *Chronicon Scotorum* was in the collection of Charles O'Conor esquire, which is said to have been purchased by the marquis of Buckingham. See also p. 479.

* That the proper tongue of this monarch was the Scotish or Irish Gaelic is proved by the testimony of a contemporary historian, Turgotus, that is, or Theodoricus, author of the life of saint Margaret, his wife, who, speaking of certain ecclesiastical

which time the Saxon or English, from a variety of causes, seems to have gradually usurped its place; so far, at least, that it is, at present, confined to part only of the north and west highlands, and to the Hebrides, or Western-isles.

councils, in which the queen presided, adds, "Sed in hoc conflictu REX IPSE adjutor et præcipuus residebat; quodcumque in hac causa jussisset, dicere paratissimus et facere. QUI, quoniam *perfectè Anglorum linguam*, ÆQUE *ut propriam*, *noverat*, VIGILANTISSIMUS *in hoc concilio*, *utriusque partis* INTERPRES EXTITERET:" that is, king Malcolm explained the queens English, or Saxon, to the Scotish clergy, and the Gaëlic jargon of the latter, to the queen. The names of many Irish nobles or bishops occur in the charters of this king, and his two or three immediate successors, who seem, from their situation as witnesses, to have been about the court: as, for instance, Macduffe and earl Duncan, under Malcolm; Beth and Dufagan, under Alexander I.; Cormac, Macbeth, Malise, Maldoweni, Macocbeth, Gillepatric, Macimpethin, Alwyn Maclerkyl, under David; Duncan, the son of Amaledy, Malcolm, Gylmychel, Machedolf, Duncan, the son of Gilchrist, Newyn Mackessan, Maldoven, Maocdawy, Hector Macsvukyn, under Alexander III. (*Additional case of E. countess of Sutherland*, p. 6.)

Irish patronymics, in fact, appear, at that period, to have been so common, that they were sometimes applied by way of distinction of the old Scotish peerage. "*A.D.* 1139 [David] rex Scotie et Henricus filius ejus, cum omnibus suis, extunc quamdiu viverent, Stephano regi Anglie per omnia pacifici, et fidelissimi debebant: et ut fidelitate eorum securior esset, filium Cospatrici, comitis, et filium Hugonis de Morvilla, et filium

The Scots, whether of Ireland or North-Britain, appear to have been held in great contempt by the ancient English. The old capitulist of Gildas, about the twelfth century, calls them "gens *scabra* Scotorum"; William of Malmesbury speaks of the "rubiginem *Scotticè* barbariei" (158); and says, "tunc *Scottus* familiaritatem pulicum . . . reliquit" (133). Henry of Huntingdon, archdeacon of that bishopric, and a learned historian of the same age, speaking of this people, adds, "QUOS [*Angli*] VILISSIMOS habebant" (359). Gervase of Tilbury, likewise, not a much later writer, having observed that "Scotland was formerly inhabited by the Scots, men," he continues, "VILISSIMÆ CONVERSATIONIS" (*otia imperialia,* apud *Scrip. Bruns.* I, 917.) See, also, Bromton, co. 909.

Walter Espec, a great baron of Yorkshire, who had come over from Normandy with William the bastard, in his harangue delivered to the English army, previously to the battle of Cowtonmoor, having already described certain successful exploits of

Fergusi comitis, et filium Mel, et filium Mac: scilicet, quinque comitum de Scotia, ei obsides dare debebant." (*R. Hagustal de gestis Stephani*, apud *Decem scrip.* co. 330.) *Mel*, a bishop, and disciple of saint Patrick, and *Macca*, the disciple of himself and bishop Melchu, are mentioned by Usher (from an old biographer), 336.

the Anglo-Normans in Scotland, goes on to ask, "who would not laugh, rather than fear, that, against such [men], the VILE SCOT, with half-naked buttocks, should come foreward to fight?" He says, likewise, "to our lances, to our swords, and our darts, they [the Scots] oppose their naked hide; using a calf-skin for a shield:" and mentions, also, "the too great length of those spears, which we," he says, "behold from high:" but "the wood," he adds, "is frail, the iron blunt; while it strikes, it perishes; while it is hit, it is broken, scarcely being sufficient for one blow. Receive it only with a stick, and the unarmed Scot will stand still" (Ethelred, co. 340). Nevertheless it is said to have been ordained, by Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who died, at Rome, in 725, "that the English might take wives of the illustrious blood of the Britons, and the Britons, wives of the illustrious blood of the Engles. Some Engles received wives of THE NOBLE BLOOD OF THE SCOTS." (Lelands *Collectanea*, I, 408.)

It has been asserted by the late George Steevens, esquire, that "the crown of Scotland was originally not hereditary. When a successor," he adds, "was declared in the lifetime of a king (as was often the case) the title of *prince of Cumberland* was immediately bestowed on him as the mark of his desig-

nation. *Cumberland,*" he says, " was, at that time, held by Scotland of the crown of England, as a fief" (*Note on* Macbeth, *Shak.* VII, 368).

But it is manifest that he knew nothing of the real history of that people, having contented himself, like most other readers, with the legends of Fordun, Bois, or Buchanan, retailed by Hollynshed or Speed. That the crown of Scotland descended regularly from father to son, appears clearly from the old authentic lists far anterior to Fordun; in which we find Malcolm III, in 1057, the lineal descendant of Fergus in 496.

In the case of the infancy of the heir, it seems to have been usual for the next brother of the deceased monarch to ascend the throne, which it is probable he might not be always ready to part with; and this monarchy, no doubt, like all others, was liable to usurpation and violent convulsions: but, nevertheless, in settled times, and when left to itself, it constantly descended from ancestor to heir, like those of France or England; and there is no instance of any interference, on the part of the people, either to elect a sovereign, or to change the succession.

He seems, however, to have had no authority for these assertions but the absurd fables of Hector Bois; by a quotation from whom, mr Malone sage-

ly observes, " mr Steevens's remark is supported." " An extract or two from Hector Boethius," he says, " will be sufficient relative to these points." There is, however, no instance, in the genuine history of Scotland, of a successor being designed in the lifetime of a reigning king: and that the title of prince of Cumberland notified such designation is altogether utterly false and groundless; nor could Cumberland possibly be a *fief* at the time it was in the possession of the Scots; many years, that is, before fiefs were known in these countries.

ANNALS OF THE SCOTS.

ANNALES SCOTORUM.

CCCCXCVI. Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare, suscepit regnum Albaniæ, *i. e.* a monte Drumalban usque ad mare Hiberniæ et ad Inche-Gall. Iste regnavit tribus annis.*

* *Cronica regum Scottorum*, Innes's *Critical Essay*, Ap. Num. IV. and Pinkertons *Enquiry*, I. Ap. Num. IX. "Fergus filius *Eric* ipse fuit primus qui de semine *Chonare* suscepit regnum Albaniæ, *i. e.* A monte *Brunalban* usque ad mare Hiberniæ & ad *Inchegall.*" *De situ Albaniæ*, Innes, Ap. Num. I. "*Fergus* filius *Erth* primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra *Drumalban* usque *Sluagh* muner [l. *Sluagh more*] & usque ad *Inchegal.*" *Nomina regum Scot. et Pict.* Innes, Ap. Num. V. "*Feargus môi mac Earca* (i. e. *Fergussius magnus Erici filius*) cum gente *Dalraidâ* partem Britanniæ tenuit; & ibi mortuus est." Tigernac, Ushers *Britan. ecclesiarum antiquitates*, 1687, fo. p. 320. This *gens Dalraida* was the *Dalreudini* or *Dalriads*, Scotish or Irish subjects of Erc, king or lord of *Dalrieda*, in the province of Ulster (since called *Reuta* or *Routs*), a territory comprehending a good part of the county of Antrim: so that they seem to have brought the name, which they gave to their new settlement, along with them; and Bede, who derives it from *Dal*, a portion, and

ANNALS OF THE SCOTS.

CCCCXCVI. Fergus, son of Erc, was the first who, of the seed of Chonaré, assumed the govern-

Reuda, the leader of a prior colony, is, probably, mistaken in his etymology. "Clanna Eachach ghabsad Albain iar nairdghiaidh. Clanna Chonaire an chaomh fhir Toghaide na tien Ghaodhil; Tri mic Eirc, mhic Eachach ait . . . Ghabsad Albain ard a ngus; *Loarn*, *Fergus*, is *Aongus*. Dech mbliadhna *Loarn* ler bladh I bhflaitheas iarthair *Alban* Tanes *Loairn* fhel go ngus Seach mbliadhna a ficheat *Fergus*" (*i. e.* The children of Eochy possessed Albany after [the Picts] by their high power. The children of Chonaire the gentleman raised the strong Irish; three sons of Erc, the son of Eochy the great, possessed Albany the great likewise; Loarn, Fergus, and Angus. Ten years Loarn flourished in the government of West-Albany. After Loarn a space likewise seven and twenty years Fergus.) *Duan* (a Gaelic or Irish poem of the time of Malcolm III. 1057—1093), Pinkertons *Enquiry*, II. Ap. Num. II. Chonaire was chief king of Ireland about 215, and the father of Carbre-Riada, who is said to have established himself in the same district about 258. See Ushers *Antiquitates*, p. 320. "*A. M.* MMCCCXX [*A. C.* 320]. Ductu regis Fergusii in Brittaniam transeunt Scotti; ibique sedem figunt. Ricar. Cori. l. 2, c. 1. Fergus, by the Irish account followed by Kennedy, died in 529 (p. 172); or, according to Walsh, who calls him, erroneously, brother to *Mairchertach mor mhac Erca* (*i. e.* Muredach, or Murtoch, the great, the son of (his mother) *Erca*, the daughter of Loarn: See Ware and O'Flaherty) monarch of Ireland, in 530 (*Prospect*, p. 20); and,

ment of Albany, that is, from the mount Drumalban unto the sea of Ireland, and to the western isles. He reigned three years.

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with his two brothers, *Loarn*, and *Enegus*, was interred in the island *Yona*. (*Nomina regum.*) Their father Erc, the son of Eochy Munrevar, died in 474 (Usher, p. 321); and Eochy himself before 439 (Kennedy, p. 140). The settlement of Fergus in Britain is placed by Tigernac under the pontificate of Symmachus, who ascended the papal throne in 498 (though mr Pinkerton, who has examined sir James Wares copy of this annalist, now in the Bodleian library, says that he "does not positively date the power of Fergus in the first year of Symmachus"); and the ancient Irish author of the synchronisms as well of the kings and provincial princes of Ireland as of the kings of Scotland (*i. e.* Flannus à monasterio, or Flan of Bute), reckons twenty years from the battle of Oché, in which Ailill (or Oilill) Molt, king of Ireland, was slain, to the coming into Albany of the *six* sons of Erc, of whom, he says, *two* were called Angus, *two*, Loarn, and *two*, Fergus: a circumstance mentioned also by Joceline, in the life of St Patrick, who gave his blessing to Fergus, the youngest brother, and prophesied that he should be the father of kings, who should reign not only in their own country, but in a distant and foreign region. See Usher, p. 320. Kennedy, likewise, from the book of Lecan, observes that Erc left *twelve* sons, "most of them grown up before the fathers death." (P. 145.) The battle of Oché appears, from the Ulster Annals, to have happened in 483; for which reason Usher (p. 320) places the arrival of Fergus and his brethren in 503; a computation in which he

CCCCXCIX. Domangrat filius ejus quinque annis [regnavit.]

has been followed by others, but which cannot, possibly, be reconciled to subsequent and well-authenticated events, from the Ulster Annals, which require either this expedition to be placed at an earlier period, or the acknowledgment of some error in the intermediate dates. Father Walsh says, the "Irish monuments fix on the year of Christ 498, the time of Fergus Mor (son to Ercho, nephew to Eochadh Muinreamhar), and of his five brothers with him, invading the north of Britain" (p. 367): and Lynch dates the battle of Oché in 478; which still preserves the old synchronists period of twenty years. O'Flaherty, with the assistance of Hector Bois, or Boethius, an ill-informed, inventive, and mendacious writer of the sixteenth century, makes the reign of Fergus to commence in 513, and to last 16 years; which, admitting two, and not 32 or 22, to be the period of Gavran, is utterly inconsistent with the 34 years of Comgal, and his death in 538. The supputation here adopted is, no doubt, erroneous, but cannot, it seems, be rectified without conjectural violence, and greater sacrifices. At any rate 503 cannot be right, nor will any date be found so consistent and unexceptionable as 496. That Gavran died in 560, after a reign of 22 years, and Comgal, in 538, after one of 34, are facts as well attested as any in Greek or Roman history; the Irish annals concurring with the two old Scotish lists; and that Domangart reigned 5 years, and Fergus no more than 3, is asserted by both the latter. The *Duan*, it is true, extends the reign of Fergus 27 years, after that of 10 allotted to Loarn, which is manifestly impossible and absurd; as it is not only most probable that the three brothers reigned, if at all, at the same time, in separate districts, but the term of 37 years would carry the expedition back to 466, when Fergus,

CCCCXCIX. Domangart his son reigned five years.

DIV. Congel filius Domangrat triginta tribus [l. triginta quatuor] annis regnavit.*

the youngest of the 6, if not 12, sons of Erc, must, if actually born so soon, have been a mere child. That he died in 529 or 530 is no less false and impossible. If, indeed, it could be proved, or fairly inferred, that any two of these sovereigns, Congal and Gavran, for instance, had, like Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, reigned at the same time, the accession of Fergus in 503 might, doubtless, be easily reconciled with the death of the former in 538, or that of the latter in 560: but there is not, in fact, the least ground for such a supposition. It is much to be regretted that the shade of St Patrick, or St Columb-cilla, cannot be raised, by some witch of Endor, to decide this difficult question.

* *Cro. regum Scot.*—"Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque ann. regnavit." *Nomina regum*, &c. "Domhangart mac Fheargus ard Aireamh chuagh mbhadhau mbiothgharg (*i. e.* Domangart, son of Fergus the great, reckoned five years in troubles"). *Duan.* "Domangart Mac Nisse *rex Scotiæ obiit* 507." MSS. Sloane, Num. 479. He is again surnamed *Mac Niesi*, in No. 479. *Nise* might possibly be the name of his own mother, as *Mise* was of his fathers, or *Nise* and *Mise* may be the same name, and he called after his grandmother. The wife of this Domangard was Fedelmia the daughter of

DIV. Congal the son of Domangart reigned thirty-four years.

DXXXVIII. Mors Comgail Mac Domangairt (ri Alban) 35 anno regni.

DXXXVIII. The death of Congal, the son of

Eochy Mogmedon king of Ireland. (O'Fla. p. 473.) Loarn, the elder brother of Fergus, appears, from O'Flahertys account, to have left a numerous progeny, none of whom, however, is known to have reigned in Britain, unless it be *Fercha-fada*, or Farquhar the long, whom he makes the 8th in descent from that monarch. See *Ogygia*, p. 471, 479. He has left his name to a considerable territory in Argyle, which retains it to this day: but no further mention is made in any of the old Scotish documents of Angus, the third brother. O'Flaherty, on whatever authority, says that *Ilay*, Calaros, *Rosfenan*, Airdeas, Loicrois, Aitcaifil, Kinel-nœngusa, and Teallach-caillin, 430 families (this is the dimension of the lands) fell to the lot of the whole tribe or sept of this Angus (*Cinel nangusa*); and that Muredach, or Murdoch, his son, was the first cultivator of Ilay, an island of the Hebrides. (P. 470.) The shire of *Angus*, however, could not well receive its name from this prince, being on the eastern coast, and continuing, apparently, in the possession of the Picts.

Domangart, king of Albany, in the 35th year of his reign.

Goveran frater Congel triginta [l. viginti duo] annis [regnavit].*

Gavran, the brother of Congal, reigned twenty-two years.

DLX. Mors Gauvrani filii Domangardi.†

Conal filius Congel quatuordecim annis [regnavit].‡

DLX. The death of Gavran, the son of Domangard.

* *Cro. regum Scot.* "Gauran fil. Dovenghart 22 an. regn." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Doblliad hain . . . Tar eis Chomhgharll do Ghabhran," (*i. e.* Two years after Congal to Gavran). *Duan.*

† Tigernac; O'Flaherty, p. 472; and *An. Ul.* ad an. 558. A modern hand in MS. Sloan, 1493, fo. 84, says 559.

‡ *Cro. regum Scot.* "Conal fil. Congal 14 an. regn." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Tri bliadhna fochuig, gan roimn, Ba righ Conall mhic Comhghaill," (*i. e.* Three years by five without division was king Conall the son of Comgall). *Duan.*

Conal, the son of Congal, reigned fourteen years.

DLXIII. Post bellum Culedrebene, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus [S. Columba] de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit; quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scottice dicitur Ondemone, idem homo dei, coram Conallo rege, filio Comgil, in Bryttania conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit.*

DLXIII. Two years after the battle of Culedrebene, in which time the blessed man [St. Columba], being about to travel, first of all sailed from Scotland [*i. e.* Ireland]; on a certain day, that is, in the very same hour in which was fought in Scot-

* Adamnanus, *Vita S. Columbæ*, L. 1, c. 7. The battle of *Cuildremme* is placed by the Annals of Ulster in 559 [560]. The battle of *Ondemone* is supposed by Usher to be the same with that of *Mimdore* [or *Mona Dair*], noted, in those annals as the year 562 [563]. Both places were in Ireland. St. Columba, according to the Irish writers, was a relation of Conal; being the 4th in descent from Loarn. (O'Fla. p. 642.)

land the battle which in Scotish (*i. e.* Irish) is called Ondemone, the same man of god, conversing, in Britain, before king Conal, the son of Congal, related throughout, as well concerning the battle fought, as also of those kings to whom the lord granted victory over their enemies.

DLXXIV. Mors Conail Mac Comgail, anno regni sui 16 [l. 15], qui obtulit Hy Columcille.*

Edan filius Goveran triginta quatuor annis [regnavit].†

* *An. Ul.* Bede, by mistake, makes Brudei king of the Picts the benefactor of the saint on this occasion. Conal was his relation.

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Edhan fil. Gauran 34 an. reg." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Cethre bliadhna ficheat thall Ba righ Aodhan," (*i. e.* Four years twenty over was king Aidan). *Duan.* In 575 Aidan was present at the great council of Drumceat in Ireland. See Adam. L. 1, c. 50. In 577 he appears, in company with Gwenddolau, or Gwendolavus, another prince, it is supposed, of some part of modern Scotland, at the battle of Arderyth (or Atterith), against Roderick the munificent (*Rhydderch Hael*), king of Cumbria, or Cambria, *i. e.* Strath-Cluyd, in which the latter obtained the victory. See Williams's notes on the *Æræ Cambro Brit.* at the end of Llwyds *Britan. descrip. Com.* 1731, p. 142. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, in

DLXXIV. The death of Conal the son of Congal, in the fifteenth year of his reign, who gave Hy to Columbkil.

Aidan, the son of Gavran reigned thirty-four years.

DLXXVI. Bellum de Loco in Kintire, in quo cecidit Duncath Mac Conail Mac Comgail; et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gawran ceciderunt.*

DLXXVI. The battle of Loco in Kentire, in which fell Duncan the son of Conal, the son of Congal; and many others of the allies of the sons of Gavran.

DLXXX. The [battle?] of Ouc with Aodan Mac Gavran.†

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his metrical life of Merlin Caledonius, alludes to this battle, says of Guennolous,

"Scotie qui regna regebat;"

without mentioning Aidan.

* *An. Ul.* This seems to have been a war about the succession. O'Flaherty calls it the battle of *Dealgan*.

† *An. Ul.* A blank is left by the copyist.

DLXXXII. Bellum Manan, in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac Gawran.*

* *Ibi.* This is, as usual, at 581: At 582 is, again, "Bellum *Manan* per Aodan. In tempore alio, hoc est, post multos à supra memorato bello [Caledebene *sci. seu* Ondemone] annorum transcursus, cum esset vir sanctus [Columba] in Hyona insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem, Cloccam pulsa: cujus sonitu fratres incitati, ad ecclesiam ipso sancto præsule præeunte ocius currunt, ad quos ibidem flexis genubus infit: Nunc intente pro hoc populo, et Aidano rege dominum oremus, hac enim hora ineunt bellum. Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in cœlum, inquit: Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur: Aidano que quamlibet infælix, tamen concessa est victoria. Set et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum, vir beatus propheticè narravit." Adom. L. 1, c. 8. This battle, called in the title of the chapter, *bellum Miathorùm*, is nowhere else mentioned, unless it should be the *bellum Manan* of these annals, which O'Flaherty conjectures to be the battle of *Lethrigh*, 590. "Alio quoque in tempore, ante supradictum bellum sanctus Aidanum regem interrogat de regni successore. Illo respondente, se nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus: Arcurius, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus: Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator, nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi. Sed nunc si alios juniores habeas ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit dominus subitò super meum irruet gremium. Quibus accitis secundum verbum sancti, Echodius Buide adveniens, in sinu ejus recubuit, statimque eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii ejus post eum regnabunt. Sic omnia post suis temporibus plenè adimpleta sunt. Nam Arturius, et Echodius Find, non longo

DLXXXII. The battle of Manan, in which Aidan the son of Gavran was conqueror.

DXC. The battle of Leithvedh [Q. Leithredh] by Aodan Mac Gauran.*

DXCV. Mors Eogain Mac Gawran.†

DXCV. The death of Eochy the son of Gavran.

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post temporis intervallo, Micitorum superius memorato in bello trucidati sunt. Domingartus vero in Saxonia [*i. e.* Anglia] bellica in strage interfectus est. Echodius autem Buide post patrem in regnum successit."—Adom. L. 1, c. 9.

* *An. Ul.*

† *Ibi.* This was the brother of Aidan, whom Adomnan calls Iogenanus. It should be Eochoidh, Eochadh, or Eoganan, not Eogan, which is distinguished in Keating as a different name.

DXCVI. Jugulatio filiorum Aodhain, Brain et Doman.*

DXCVI. The jugulation of the sons of Aidan, Brain and Doman.

DXCVIII. Domangard in Kirkinn prælio cecidisse, anno post S. Columbæ obitum, refert codex Cluan, et cum eo Tigernachus.†

DXCVIII. That Domangard fell in the battle of Kirkinn, in the year after the death of St. Columba; the book of Cluan relates, and therewithall Tigernach.

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* *Ibi.* These names are, probably, errors for *Arthur* or *Eochy-find*, and *Domangart*, mentioned in the preceding note from Adomnan. According, however, to O'Flaherty, the book of Cluan and Tigernach report Domangart to have fallen in the battle of Kirkin (see at the year 598); and we find, in the latter, that Conad or *Conangus*, another son of king Aidan, was drowned in the sea (see, afterwards, *A.* 622).

† O'Flaherty, p. 475. He was one of the sons of Aidan.

DCI. Pausa Comgail.*

DCI. The death of Comgal.

DCIII. His temporibus regno Nordanhymbrorum præfuit rex fortissimus, et gloriæ cupidissimus Ædilfrid, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem vastavit Brittonum . . . . . Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis vel subjugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitales fecit . . . Unde motus ejus profectibus Ædan rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant, venit contra eum cum immenso ac forti exercitu; sed cum paucis aufugit victus. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur *Degsastan*, id est *Degsa lapis*, omnis pene ejus est cæsus exercitus. In qua etiam pugna *Theobald* frater Ædilfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu peremptus est . . . Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Brittania adversus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in prælium venire audebat.

* *An. Ul.* ad. an. 601; 601. *Quies* Comgail.

† *Beda*, L. 1, c. 34. The place of action is unknown: bishop Gibson conjectures it to be *Dalston* near Carlisle; bishop Nicolson *Dawston* near Jedburgh.

DCIII. In these times presided over the kingdom of the Northumbrians a king most brave and most desirous of glory, Ethelfrid, who, more than all the chiefs of the English, harassed the nation of the Britons . . . For no man among commanders, no man among kings, made more of their lands, the natives being exterminated or subjugated, either tributary or habitable to the nation of the English . . . Whence, moved by his proceedings, Aidan, king of the Scots who inhabit Britain, came against him with an immense and strong army; but, being conquered, he fled with few. Forasmuch as, in the most famous place which is called Degsastone, almost all his army was cut to pieces: In which fight also Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, with all that army which he himself commanded, was killed: Nor from that time did any of the kings of the Scots dare to come to battle against the nation of the English in Britain unto this day.

DCVIII. Mors Aodhan MacGawran* Eo-

* *An. Ul.* ad. 605. According to O'Flaherty, he was 78 years of age, died in Kentire, and was interred in Kilcheran, *anno* 606. (P. 476.) The Welsh antiquaries assert that Aidan, whom they also call *Aidanus perfidus* (Æddan Tradawg), had

chid flavus filius Edan sexdecim annis [regnavit].*

DCVIII. The death of Aidan the son of Gavran. Eochy-buide, or the yellow [the son of Aidan] reigned sixteen years.

DCXXII. Conangus regis Aidani filius mari demersus.†

a son named *Gafran ap Æddan*, who married *Lleian*, the daughter of *Brychan*, a nobleman of Irish extraction: but then they likewise assert that Aidan himself was the grand-nephew of Maximus the tyrant. See M. Williams's notes to the *Æræ Cambro Brit.* at the end of Llwyds *Britan. descrip. Com.* (p. 143.) The proper English name for *Aodhan* is not known. *Aodh* (*didus*) is *Hugh;* but not *Aodhan* (*Aidanus*).

* *Cro. regum Scot.* "Heoghed bude 16 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Dech mbliadhna fo sheact, ... Ibh flaitheas Eachach buidhe," (*i. e.* Ten years by seven reigned Eochy the yellow). *Duan.* The numbers of the annals are always preferred, with, at least, the slight addition of a unit, for the reason elsewhere given.

† Tigernach, as quoted by O'Flaherty, p. 475.

DCXXII. Conad the son of king Aidan drowned in the sea.

DCXXIX. Mors Achaii flavi regis filii Aidani, postquam viginti annos [l. annis] regnasset.*

Kinat sinister filius Conal tribus mensibus [regnavit].†

* *An. Ul.* and Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 477), ad. an. 629. 628. . . . " Bell. Duin Cethirn, in quo Congall Caoch fugit, et Daniell Mac Hugh victor [erat]; et in quo cecidit Guaire Mac Fintain, Diont etiam nepotis Hugonis Gullon Faidva. Cecidisse Echdao buidhe regis Pictorum [l. Scotorum] per filios Aodhain : sic in libro Cuanach inveni." *An. Ul.* According to Pinkerton, who had misprinted it, " Buidhe regis Pictorum ;" the original MS. in the Bodleian library reads, " Echdach Buideh regis Pictorum filii Adhain, prout in libro Cuan inveni, vel script. in libro Duib Dalyenar." The error, therefore, of *Pictorum* for *Scotorum* occurs in both. The person meant, however, is clearly the *Achaius flavus rex filius Aidani*, or Eochy-buide the son of Aidan, of the above text.

† *Cro. regum Scot.* " Kinath [l. Conadh] ken fil. Conal 3 mens." *Nomina regum, &c.* " Conchad cean raithe reil blath," (*i. e.* Connad (not Kenneth) a quarter ruled happily). *Duan.* See O'Fla. p. 477, who says, upon the authority of Tigernach and others, that he was the eldest son of Eochy, or Achaius, who had 7 more, Donald Brec, Donald Don, Conall Cranndhamhna, Conal Bregg, Falbe, Domangard, and motherless Kay (Caius sine matre). Falbe, he adds, from Tigernach, was slain in the battle of Trea-oin, along with Rigallan the son of Conad, both grandsons of king Aidan.

Connadius Ker Fiachnaum filium Demani Ulidiæ regem in prælio ad Ardcoram devictum interemit.*

Bellum Fedha-Evin, in quo Maolcaich Mac Shanlain, rex Cruithne, victor fuit: ceciderunt Dalriada: Coind Ceni [l. Conad ceir] rex Dalriada cecidit.†

Fercar filius Eu [MS. eu, *i. e.* ejus sci. Kinat sinistri seu Connadii-Ker] sexdecim annis regnavit.‡

Dovenald varius filius Eochid quatuordecim annis [regnavit].§

* Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 477).

† *An. Ul.* "Anno 630, Mors Connadii Ken anno primo regni sui, qui victus est in prælio ad Fea-oin." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 477).

‡ *Cro. regum Scot.* "Ferchar fil. Ewin 16 an' *Nomina regum, &c.* "Ase deg dia mhac Fearchar," (*i. e.* Sixteen after, the son of Farquhar). This *Ewen* may mean *Eugain Mac Gaurain*, who died in 595. It is, however, nothing more than a conjectural explanation of (*en*, i. e. *enos*), since we are positively assured by the Ulster annals, that Farquhar was the son of Conad-Ker. See at the year 694.

§ *Cro. regum Scot.* "Dovenald Brec fil. Heoghed bude 14 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Tar-eis Fearchair, . . . Cethre bliadhna *deg* Domhnaill," (*i. e.* After Farquhar, four years ten Donald). *Duan.* Conad, and, after him, Farquhar, seems to have reigned at the same time, though, perhaps, over distinct territory, with Donald Brek. There are, however, other instances of two or more kings reigning at once, and apparently in the same kingdom: a practice which likewise prevailed in Ireland. See Wares *Antiquitates*, c. 4.

DCXXIX. The death of king Eochy-buide, the son of Aidan, after he had reigned twenty years.

Connad-ker, *i. e.* left-handed [the son of Conal] reigned three months.

Connad Ker slew Fiachna, the son of Deman, king of Ulster [whom he had] defeated in a battle at Ardcoran.

The battle of Fea-Oin, in which Malachiah, the son of Skanlain, king of the Cruthens (*i. e.* Irish Picts), was victor: the Dalriads fell: Connad Ker, king of Dalriada, fell.

Farquhar his son (*i. e.* of Connad Ker) reigned sixteen years.

Donald-brec (*i. e.* speckled), the son of Eochy, reigned fourteen years.

DCXXXV. Rex Oswald . . . denique omnes nationes et provincias Brittaniæ quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum, divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit.*

DCXXXV. King Oswald . . . finally received

* Beda, L. 3, C. 6.

in his rule all the nations of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that is, of the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English.

DCXXXVII. Bellum Rath, et bellum Saltire, in uno die facta sunt. Caol Mac Maolcova, socius Donaldi, victor erat de genere Eugain.*

* *An. Ul.* "Cummeneus Albus, in libro quem de virtutibus sancti Columbæ scripsit, sic dixit:" "Quod sanctus Columba de Aidano, et de posteris ejus, et de regno suo prophetare cæpit dicens: Indubitante credo, ô Aidane, quod nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere; donec prius fraudulentiam agas in me, et in posteros meos. Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda, ut et ipsi filiis, et nepotibus, et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni hujus de manibus suis perdant. In quocumque enim tempore malum adversum me, aut adversus cognatos meos, qui sunt in Hibernia, fecerint, flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui per manum dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis, et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur. Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est in bello Roth, Domnaldo Brecco nepote Aidani *sine causa vastante provinciam* Domnail nepotis Amureq. Et à die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis; quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit." Adom. L. 3, C. 5. St. Columba, refusing to consecrate Aidan king (loving his brother better), was visited in the night by an angel who struck him with a whip or scourge; the mark of

DCXXXVII. The battle of Rath and the battle of Saltire were fought in one day. Caol Mac Maolcova, the ally of Donald, was conquered of the sept of Ewen.

DCXXXVIII. Bellum Glime-Marison, in quo exercitus Domnaldi Brec in fugam versus, et Etain obsidetur.*

DCXXXVIII. The battle of Glen-Morison, in which the army of Donald Breck was put to flight, and Etain was besieged.

DCXLII. Mors Domnail Mac Aodha regis Hiberniæ, in fine Januarii. Postea Domnail [Brec] in bello Fraithe Cairvin [l. Straith-cair-maic], in

which continued all his life. This flagellation brought the saint to reason, and in the act of consecration it was that he uttered this prophecy. See Cumimius, c. 5. St. Columba, as already observed, was a distant relation of Aidan; both being descended from Erc, the father of Loarn and Fergus.

* Tigernach (O'Fla. p. 478), *An. Ul.*

fine anni, m. Decembri, interfectus est [ab Hoan rege Brittonum] ; et annis quindecim regnavit.*

Maldiun filius Dovenald Durn [l. Duin] 16 annis [regnavit].†

DCXLII. The death of Donald Mac-Hugh, in the end of January. Afterward Donald [Breck] in the battle of Straith-cair-maic, in the end of the year, in the month of December, was killed [by Owen king of the Britons] ; and reigned fifteen years.

Malduin the son of Donald-Duin reigned 16 years.

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* *An. Ul.* Tigernach (*u. s.*) and Usher, p. 372. It is observable that, if Donald Breck reigned 14 years, he must have succeeded to Connad-ker, in 629 ; and, consequently, that Fergus, or Farquhar, Mac Ewen, (if genuine) was his rival, and, probably, possessed part of his territory.

† *Nomina regum*, &c. "Maolduin mhic Conaill ne gereach Aseach deg go dlightheach (*i. e.* Maolduin the son of Conall of the hostages seven ten—lawfully). *Duan.* O'Flaherty says that in 642 Conal Cranndhamhna, the son of Eochy-buidhe, and Dungal (of whom he knows nothing) succeeded to Donald Breck, reigning together, and that the former died in 660. (*Ogy.* p. 478.)

DCL. Mors Cathusaidh Mac Domail Bricc.*

DCL. The death of Cathusaidh the son of Donald Breck.

DCLXXIII. Jugulatio Domangairt Mac Daniell Bricc, regis Dalriada.†

DCLXXIII. The jugulation of Donald the son of Donald Breck, king of Dalriada.

DCLXXVI. Congal Mac Maol-duin et filii Scanvill et Arthaile jugulati sunt.‡

Fergus longus viginti duo [annis regnavit.]§

* *An. Ul.* Again at 688.

† *Ibi.* and Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 479).

‡ *Ibi. Idem.*

§ *Cro. regum Scot.* "Ferchar-foda 21 an." *Nomina regum*, &c. Fearchair fada chaith bliadhain ar ficheat" (*i. e.* Farquhar the long spent one year on twenty). *Duan.*

DCLXXVI. Congal the son of Mail-duin, and the sons of Scanvill and Aithaille have their throats cut.

Farquhar the long reigned twenty-two years.

DCLXXVIII. Interfectio generis Loairn apud Ferrin. Mors Drosto [l. Drosti] filii Domnail. Bellum I Calatros, i. apud Calaros, in quo victus est Domnall Brecc.*

DCLXXVIII. The slaughter of the sept of Loairn at Ferrin. The death of Drost the son of Donald. The battle at Calaros, in which Donald Breck was defeated.

DCLXXXIV. Sende Ecgferth here on Scottas & Briht his ealdor-man mid. & earmlice hi godes cyrican hyndan & bærndon.†

* *An. Ul.* This Donald Breck seems a different person from the one slain at Straith-cair-maic in 642.

† *Chro. Sax.*

DCLXXXIV. Egferth sent an army against the Scots, and Bright, his general, along with them; and they, miserably, wasted and burned the churches of god.

DCLXXXV. Man of-sloh Ecgferth cining be northan sæ. & mycelne here mid him on xiii kl. Junii.*

DCLXXXV. Men slew Egferth the king, by the north sea, and a great army with him, on the 13th kalends [19th day] of June.

DCLXXXVI. Talorg Mac Acithen, and Daniel Breoo [l. Brecc] Mac Eacha mortui sunt.†

DCLXXXVI. Talorg the son of Acithen, and Donald Breck the son of Eochy died.

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* *Chro. Sax.* † *An. Ul.*

DCXCIV. Mors Ferchair Mac Conaoth Cirr.*

DCXCIV. The death of Farquhar the son of Connad Kerr.

DCXCV. Comnat uxor Ferchair moritur.†

DCXCV. Comnat the wife of Farquhar dies.

DCXCVI. Jugulatio Domnaill filii Conaill.‡

DCXCVI. The jugulation of Donald the son of Conall.

DCXCVII. Ferchar fada, i. e. longus, mortuus [est.]§

* *An. Ul.* † *Ibi.* ‡ *Ibi.* § *Ibi.*

Eochal habens curvum nasum filius Donegarth filii Dovenal varii, tribus an. [regnavit.]*

Arimchellac [l. Ainbkellach] filius Ferchar longi tredecim annis [regnavit.]†

DCXCVII. Farquhar-fada, that is, the long, died.

Eochy hook-(or wry)-nose, the son of Domangart, the son of Donald Breck, reigned three years.

Ainbchellach the son of Farquhar the long reigned thirteen years.

DCXCVIII. Bellum at Fermna, ubi cecidit Concuvar Macha Mac Maileduin, et high Hugh king of Dalaraidhe. Expulsio Ainfcella filii Ferchair de regno; et vinctus ad Hiberniam vehitur.‡

* *Cro. regum Scot.* "Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart fil. Dovenald Brec, 3 an." *Nomina regum, &c.*

† *Ibi.* "Armkelleth fil. Findan. 1. an." *Nomina regum, &c.* He and Eochal seem to have reigned together; at least there is no arranging the succession consistently with subsequent events.

‡ *An. Ul.*

DCXCVIII. A battle at Fermna, where fell Concuvar Macha the son of Maileduin, and high Hugh king of Dalriada. The expulsion of Ainfcella the son of Farquhar from the kingdom; and he is carried in chains to Ireland.

DCC. Fianamoil nepos Duncha rex [l. regis] Dalriada, et Flan Mac Cinfoala Mac Suivne jugulati sunt.*

DCC. Fianamoil the grandson of Duncan king of Dalriada, and Flan Mac Cinfola Mac Suivne, have their throats cut.

DCCI. The destruction of Dunonlai by Selvaich.†

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* *An. Ul.*

† *Ibi.* The original MS. now in the Bodleian, reads, according to Pinkertons *Advertisement*, 1794, "Destructio Dunonlaig ap. Scalvac."

DCCXI. Congressio Britonum et Dalriada apud Longecoleth, ubi Britones devicti.*

DCCXI. An engagement of the Britons and Dalriads at Longecoleth, where the Britons were defeated.

DCCXII. Obsessio Abente apud Selvacum.†

DCCXII. The siege of Abente by Selvach.

DCCXVII. Congressio Dalriada et Britonum, in lapide qui vocatur Mininro, et Britones devicti sunt.‡

DCCXVII. An engagement of Dalriads and

* *An. Ul.*

† *Ibi.* So, at 713, "Dun Olla construitur apud Selvaon [l. Selvach], and destroyed by his daughter Alena." See also the preceding note. O'Flaherty makes *Selvach* the other son of *Fenhar-fada*, and says he succeeded his brother (*Anbkellach*) in 719. (P. 479.)

‡ *Ibi.*

Britons at the stone which is called Mininro, and the Britons are defeated.

DCCXIX. Bellum Fingline inter duos filios Ferchair Fada; in quo Anfcellach jugulatus est. 5. feria idus Septembris. Maritimum Ardanesse inter Duncha Beg, cum genere Loairn; et versum est contra Selvacum, pridie nonas Septembr. die 6. feria: in quo quidam comites cornnerunt [l. corruerunt].*

Ewen filius Ferchare longi tredecim annis [regnavit].†

DCCXIX. A battle at Fingline, between the

* *An. Ul.* The ides (or 13th) of September fell upon the 5 *feria*, or thursday, in 725; as the *pridie nonas* (or 4th) of the same month did on the 6 *feria*, or friday. Neither date, of course, will suit 719, nor any intermediate year. Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 479) says this naval action happened "quinto nonas Octobris Die tertia feriæ," *i. e.* on tuesday the 3d of October). At 722, as mr Pinkerton pretends, the MS. of the Ulster annals has *Clericatus Selvaich:* which is false. The whole passage runs thus: "Jurestach Mac Muirca rex Conaght mortuus clericatu Selvaich Sinach Failten moritur:" so that *clericatu* manifestly belongs to *Jurestach.*

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Heatgan fil. Findan." *Nomina regum, &c.*

two sons of Farquhar the long; in which Anfcellach had his throat cut, on thursday the ides of September. A sea-fight at Ardanesse between Duncan the little and the sept of Loarn; and it turns against Selvach, the day before the nones of September, or friday: in which certain earls fell.

Ewen the son of Farquhar the long reigned thirteen years.

DCCXXI. Little Duncha king of Cintire moritur.*

DCCXXVII. Airgialla inter Selvacum et familiam Egchtagh nepotis Domnail.†

DCCXXVII. [A battle in] Argyle, between Selvach and the sept of Egchtagh, the grandson of Donald.

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* *An. Ul.* † *Ibi.*

DCCXXX. Bran filius Eugain, et Selvach, mortui sunt.*

DCCXXX. Bran, the son of Ewen, and Selvach, died.

DCCXXXIII. Achaius filius Achaii rex Dalriadæ mortuus est.†

Murechat filius Arinchellac tribus annis [regnavit].‡

Dongal MacSelvaich dehonoravit Forai [l. Toraic] cum Brudonem ex ea traxit; et eadem vice insulam [Culren] Rigi invasit.§

* *An. Ul.*

† Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 480). Mr Pinkerton makes the reign of this Eochy commence in 726, but without authority.

‡ *Cro. regum Scot.* "Murdochus fil. Armkelleth 3 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Anno 733, Muredachus, filius Anbkellachi, regnum generis Loarni [l. Loarni] assumit." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 480). Eodem anno, "Muircoch Mac Imfcella regnum generis Loarn asseruit." *An. Ul.*

§ *An. Ul.* See Pinkertons *Advertisement*, 1794; also, Tigernach (O'Fla. p. 480) ubi Toragia (Torinis in Tirconallia in Ultonia insula).

DCCXXXIII. Eochy, the son of Eochy king of Dalriada, died.

Murechat, the son of Arinchellac, reigned three years.

Dongal, the son of Selvach, dishonoured Toraic, when he drew Brudo thereout; and, at the same time, invaded the isle of [Culren] Rigi.

DCCXXXVI. Aongus Mac Fergusa rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dalriada; et obtinuit Dunat, et combussit Creio; et duos filios Selvaich catenis alligavit, viz. Dongal et Ferach. Bellum Twini Ouribre [at Calaros] inter Dalriada et Fortrin; et Talorgan Mac Fergusa Mac Aimcellai fugientem cum exercitu persequitur. In qua congressione multi nobiles conceciderunt.*

Ewen filius Murcedach tribus annis [regnavit].†

* *An. Ul.* "For *Creio*, read *Creic*... for *Dongal et Ferach* read *Dongal*, *Fadach*... for *Twini Ouirbre*, read *Cnuicc Coirpre I calatros uc atq. lindu.*" Pinkertons *Advertisement*, 1794. It would seem that Murdoch was slain in that pursuit, having reigned 3 years; so that Ewen his son should succeed in 736.

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Heoghan fil. Murdach 3 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* Either Ewen reigned more than 3 (say 13), or his immediate successor is lost; or Aodh-fin (*i. e.* Hugh the white), named as such, must have reigned upwards of 30 (*i. e.*

DCCXXXVI. Hungus, the son of Urgust, king of the Picts, wasted the country of Dalriada; and obtained Dunat, and burned Creic; and bound with chains the two sons of Selvach, viz. Dongal and Ferach. The battle of Twini-Ouribre (at Calaros) between Dalriada and Fortrin (*i. e.* the Scots and the Picts); and Talorgan, the son of Urgust, pursued Fergus, the son of Aimcellai, flying, with his army. In which engagement many noblemen fell.

Ewen the son of Murdach reigned three years.

DCCXLI. Bellum Droma Cathvaoil, inter Cruithne et Dalriada, a Jurechtach. Percussio Dalriada ab Eneas Mac Fergusa.*

DCCXLI. The battle of Droma-Cathvaoil, between the Cruithens (or Picts) and Dalriads at

37) years, as the date of his death, in 778, cannot be disputed. O'Flaherty, from the book of synchronism, places here, instead of Ewen, *Achaius II.* or Eochy-anguidh, who was king at the death of Hugh-Ollan, king of Ireland in 743, and reigned 5 years to the commencement of his successor Hugh the white.

* *An. Ul.*

(or by) Jurechtaich. An invasion of Dalriada by Hungus the son of Urgust.

DCCXLVII. Mors Dunlaing Mac Dunchon, king of the cept of Argal.*

DCCXLVIII. Edalbus filius Eochal curvi nasi triginta [annis regnavit].†

DCCXLVIII. Ed-fin (*i. e.* Hugh the White) son of Eochy-Rinnavel (or Wry-nose) reigned 30 years.

DCCLXVIII. Battle at Fortren, between Aod and Cinoah (*i. e.* Hugh and Kenneth).‡

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* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale, 30 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Triochod do Aodh na Ard fhlaith (*i. e.* Thirty to Hugh the high king). *Duan.*

‡ *An. Ul.* Who this Kenneth was nowhere appears.

DCCLXXVIII. Aidus Finn rex Dalriadæ, eodem anno quo Niellus Frasach rex Hiberniæ obiit, ad finem pervenit.*

Fergus filius Edalbi tribus [annis regnavit].†

DCCLXXVIII. Ed-fin (*i. e.* White Hugh), king of Dalriada, in the same year in which Niell Frasach, king of Ireland, died, came to his end.

Fergus the son of White Hugh reigned three years.

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* *Codex Cluan* (O'Flaherty, p. 480). "769. My author sayeth that king Neale Frassagh and Hugh Fynn, king of Dalriada or *Redschainckes*, died this year." Mageoghanans *History of Ireland*, 1627 (Sloan MSS. Num. 4817). Neil, long before his death, had become a monk in the isle of Hy, or Iona. See O'Flaherty, p. 433. Why these Scots are called *Redshanks* (unless it be from their naked legs) is not clear; it is, however, a vulgar name for the highlanders, in the north of England, to this day. Twyne, the translator of Humphrey Llwyd, gives it to the *Picts*.

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Fergus fil. Heth fin 3 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* This monarch is not named in the *Duan*, which, in his stead, has Domhnall, or Donald, to whom it assigns 24 years: a reign totally incompatible with every other authority.

DCCLXXXI. Fergus Mac Eachach king of Dalriada died.*

Dha Cliadhna Conaill.†

Two years Conal.

DCCLXXXIII. Ceathair Conaill ele.

DCCLXXXIII. Four another Conal.

DCCLXXXIX. Battle between the Pightes

* *An. Ul.* Mac *Eachach* seems an error of the transcriber for Mac *Aodh fionn.*

† *Duan.* These two kings occur in no other list; and it is evident, from the Ulster annals, if there actually were two, that the reign of one or other must be inaccurately numbered. It is impossible also, if they be rightly placed, that either should have been *Conalle Cranndhamhna*, the son of Eochy-*buidhe*, whom O'Flaherty makes joint successor, with Dungal, to Donald Breck, in 642; and says he died in 660. (*Ogy.* p. 478, 479.)

[and Scots], where Conall Mac Ferge was vanquished, yet went away; and Constantin was conqueror.*

DCCXCII. Doncorcai king of Dalriada died.†

Naoi Mbliadhna Constantin chain.‡

* *An. Ul.* This is under 788. They add, "789. The battle of Conall and Constantin is written here [*i. e.* at this year] in other books." *Conall* Mac *Ferge* is printed by mr. Pinkerton *Donall* Mac *Teige*; thereby increasing the obscurity and confusion under which he pretends this period to labour.

† *Ibi.* The name of this monarch occurs in no other authority. Mr Pinkerton, in contempt of authority, and without a reason, alters 791 to 782. (P. 127.)

‡ *Duan.* These names, likewise, occur in no other list; unless this *Aodha*, Ed, or Hugh, be confounded in the two chronicles published by Innes, with *Edalbus*, *Aodh-fin*, or *Heth-fin* (*i. e.* White Hugh), who died in 778. It is by no means improbable that different kings had the same epithet; as Philip and Charles, dukes of Burgundy, were both called *the hardy*; and as, even in the old Albanic Duan, there is a *Domhnaill* duin, and a *Dunghal*, and *Dubhoda*, den (both *brown*), an *Ainbeheallach* and a *Mureadhaigh*, maith, or mhaith (good), and two, if not three, Constantines *chain* (eloquent).

Nine years Constantin the eloquent.

DCCC. Belliolum inter genus Laoire [l. Laoirn] et genus Ardgail, in quo cecidit Fiangalach Mac Dunlaing: Conel Mac Nell, et Congalach Mac Aongus victores erant.*

DCCC. The action between the sept of Lorn and the sept of Argyll, in which fell Fiangalac Mac Dunlaing: Conal Mac Nell, and Congalac Mac Angus were victors.

DCCCI. A naoi Aonghus.

DCCCI. Nine Angus (or Æneas).

DCCCVII. The killing of Conall Mac Aoain at Kintire.†

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* *An. Ul.* It is not *Laoire*, but *Loighaire*, in the original MS. in the Bodleian.

† *An. Ul.*

DCCCX. Ceithre bliadhna Aodha ain.

DCCCX. Four years Hugh the musical.

DCCCXII. Aongus Mac Dunlaing, king of kindred Ardgail, died.*

DCCCXIV. Tre deg Eoganain.†

DCCCXIV. Thirteen Eochy-annuine (or the poisonous).

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* *Ibi.*

† *Duan.* "Eochal venenosus fil. Edalbi XXX." *Cro. regum Scot.* "Heoghed annuine fil. Hethfin 30 an." *Nomina regum*, &c. "Echach f. Edafind." R. de Diceto, co. 627. "Ethacus filius Ethafind." Scotus montanus (Fordun, p. 759. Eoganain is, clearly, either a contraction or corruption of *Eochoidh-anguibh* (Eochal *venenosus*, or *Heoghed annuine*, or perhaps, nothing more than *Eogan* or Eochy. O'Flaherty (p. 474) calls *Eochy-find*, son of Aidan, *Eogananus ;* and Adomnan, *Eochy*, or *Eogain*, *MacGairan*, Ioganannus. All these *Eochys*, a favourite Irish name, were so called, after *Eochy-Munrevar*, the father of *Erc*). "*Anno* DCCC.XXXIV. obiit Eokal [venenosus, *ad. an.* 804] rex Scottorum." *Chro. de Mailros.* O'Flaherty, likewise, gives the name of Alpin, in Irish, "Ailpin mac Eocoid." (*Ogy.* p. 481.)

DCCCXXVII. Seachtm bliadhna flaith Dungal den.*

DCCCXXVII. Seven years the chief Dungal the brown.

DCCCXXXIV. Alpin filius Eochal Venenosi tribus [annis regnavit].†

* *Duan.* "Dunegal *fil.* Selvach [l. Eochal] vii." *Cor. regum Scot.* "Dungal *fil.* Heoghed annuine 7 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Anno DCC.XLI. obiit Dungal rex Scottorum [filius Eokal, ut ad an. 834]." *Chro. de Mailros.*

† *Cro. regum Scot.* "Alpin fil. Heoghed annuine 3 an." *Nomina regum*, &c. "Elpin f. Echah." R. de Diceto. "Alpinus filius Ethaci." Scotus montanus. "Alpinus filius Eokal." *Chro. de Mailros.* "The name of the father of Alpin, father of Kenneth," mr. Pinkerton "will venture to say, is lost beyond all recovery :"—"the genealogy of Kenneth," he exclaims, "is so utterly lost, that the name of his grandfather can never be ascertained :"—"the father of Alpin is totally unknown to every domestic monument of our history." (*Enquiry*, II. 132, 134.) "Aochy Rinneval," he says, "lived 703, and thus might be the father of Aod-Fin. But Aod-Fin reigned 743, so could not be the father of Achy annuine 726 ; nor could Achy annuine, 726, be father of Alpin, 837." (*Ibi.* 128.) This is true : but the confusion arises from his taking Achy-annuine (or Eogunan), 814, to be the Achy of 726, who, by the way, is never once surnamed *Anguibh* or *annuine*, by

DCCCXXXIV. Alpin, the son of Eochy-annuine (*i. e.* the poisonous), reigned three years.

DCCCXXXVII. Hic occisus est in Gallewathia, postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit. Et hinc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.*

DCCCXXXVII. He was slain in Galloway, after he had utterly destroyed and wasted it: and, hence, the kingdom of the Scots was transferred into the kingdom of the Picts.

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any old Irish writer. To prove his consistency, however, he suspects "that this *Eoganan* was the father of Alpin, and that his name was from similar sound confounded with *Echoid Annuine*, as in Irish pronunciation the names can hardly be distinguished. If so," he adds, "Alpin was son of Eoganan, or Uven, king of the Piks, who was son of Ungust, king of the Piks, who was son of Vergust, called Fergus by the Celtic writers." (*Ibi.* 131.) This, however, is to amend obscurity by falsehood, and still worse to confound confusion. There was never a *Eoganan* king of the Picts, nor is that the same name with *Uven*, or anything like it. *Eoganan* (properly *Eochoidh-Anguibh*) the father of Alpin, was, notoriously, king of the Scots.

* *Nomina regum*, &c. The chronicle of Mailros absurdly places the death of Elpinus in 843.

DCCCXXXVII. Cinadius filius Alpin primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem à Pictis est nominata, quos* Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum deum, missam, ac præceptum, spreverunt, sed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt [f. æqui parari voluerunt]. Iste vero biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam Dal- 844.
rietæ regnum suscepit.† Septimo anno regni reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit:‡ et invasit sexies Saxoniam;§ et con-

* After *quos* is added *ut diximus*, but the fact is nowhere previously mentioned.

† If Alpin began to reign in 834, and reigned but 3 years, Kenneth must necessarily have succeeded in 837, and so been 4 years, instead of 2, before he became king of the Picts. But it is impossible to preserve the numbers and the chronology together. Another authority, however, supposes him to have reigned 7 years over the Scots alone. See Innes, p. 812.

‡ These relicks seem to have been false and forged. In 828 (or 829), according to the Ulster annals, Diarmaid, abbot of Aoi, went into Scotland with Columcilles relicks, with which he returned into Ireland, in 830 (or 831). They say, also, that, in 848 (or 849) "Jurastach, abbot of Aoi, came into Ireland with Colum-cilles oathes, or sanctified things." The king had, therefore, been imposed upon.

§ This *Saxony* is, most probably, *Lothian*, or the territory between the Tyne and the Forth, which was then part of the kingdom of Northumberland, but had formerly belonged to

cremavit Dunbarre, atque Malros usurpata [l. usurpavit].* Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan;† atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam ad
858. Cluanan et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tumore ani id. Febr. feria tertia in palacio Fothuirthabaicht.‡

the Picts, and was now, it would seem, claimed by Kenneth, as sovereign of that people.

* It appears from this passage that both Dunbar and Mailros were, before this expedition, in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. In 680 the former place (Dyunbaer), if not the whole of Lothian, was actually within the dominions of Egfrid king of Northumberland (see Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 37); which extended from the Humber to the Forth. Lothian, however, *viz.* that part of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland between the Forth and the Tweed, which had formerly belonged to the Picts, being afterward given up to Kenneth IV. by king Edgar, about the year 970 (see J. de Wallingford, p. 545), we find, by Simeon of Durham, that Malcolm III. soon after 1072 gave "Dunbar, *cum adjacentibus terris*," to Cospatrick, late earl of Northumberland, who had sought refuge in his court.

† These Britanni, or Britons, were the inhabitants of Strath-Clyde, who had made a spirited inroad into Menteith.

‡ *Cronica Pictorum.* Upon the supposition that this ancient chronicle is accurate, in making the *ides* (or 13th) of *February* fall upon a *Tuesday* (which is the meaning of *feria tertia*), the death of Kenneth must necessarily be referred to the year 860; 854, in which it is placed by Fordun, and which bears the same sunday-letter, being much too early. No document, however, mentions 860 as the year of Kenneths death; and little reliance, in fact, can be placed on the computation

Dunevaldus [l. Duvenaldus] frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempore jura

of this chronicle. *See before.* "Kinath Mac Alpin 16 an. super Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis; mortuus in Fortevioth; sepultus in Yona insula, ubi tres filii Erc, scilicet, Fergus, Loarn, and Enegus sepulti fuerant. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Kinedus fil. Alpini primus rex Scottorum." *Cronica regum, &c.* "Triocha bliadhain Chionaoith chruaidh" (*i. e.* Thirty years Kenneth the hardy). "*Duan.* 857. Cinaoh Mac Alpin king of Pights, and Adulf king of Saxons, mortui sunt." *An. Ul.* (*Æthelwulph*, here called *Adulf*, appears, from the Saxon Chronicle, to have died in 858.) "Anno DCCC LIX. obiit Kinedus rex Scotorum." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kinedhus,
Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens.
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis,
Atque Forteviet mortuus ille fuit."

Chronicon elegiacum.

The *Chronicon elegiacum*, now so called, of which this is the first specimen, was originally printed by dr. Gale, from the MS. Chronicle of Mailros. It is also preserved in some MSS. of Wyntown, and has been inserted in the printed copy. John abbot of Peterborough, speaking of king Edgar, who died in 975, refers, for a more full account of his times (among other authorities) to the *liber* "*sancti Alredi abbatis, qui intitulatur* Epitaphium regum Scotorum)" meaning, as mr. D. Macpherson conjectures, this elegiac chronicle: in the fragments of which, however, now extant (supposing it not to be entire), we find nothing of Edgar, or any other Saxon or English king.

ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiur-thabaicht.*

DCCCXXXVII. Kenneth the son of Alpin, first of the Scots, ruled happily Pictland for sixteen years. Now Pictarid is named from the Picts, whom Kenneth destroyed. For god, for the reward of their malice, designed to make them alien, and idle, in his inheritance : because they not only despised god, the mass, and the commandments, but also in the law of justice would not be equal with others. But he took the kingdom of Dalriada two years before he came to Pictland. In the seventh year of his reign he transported the reliques of St Columba to the church which he built : and invaded Saxony (*i. e.* Lothian, or England) six times,

* "Forteviot near the river Ern, south of Perth, [was] the chief residence of the Pikish kings, after their recovery of Lothian in 684. Before that time, as appears by Adomnan, they resided near Inverness." Pinkertons *Enquiry*, II. 177. Malmaria (or Maolma), the [first] wife of Kenneth, was the daughter of Flan king of Ireland ; by whom he had a daughter of the same name, married to Hugh Finnliath, king of that country. See O'Flaherty, p. 434, 435. The most amiable Gormlaith, therefore, must have been his second, and, apparently, also, the mother of Gormlaith, wife to Niel Glundubh king of Ireland, slain in 919, whom O'Flaherty, speaking of Ligacha, calls "e diverso toro soror." (P. 435.)

and burned Dunbar, and took possession of Mailros. Now the Britons burned Dunblane, and the Danes wasted Pictland to Cluanan and Dunkeld. He died of a fistula, on the ides of February, tuesday, in the palace of Forteviot.

Donald, his brother, held the same kingdom four years. In his time the Gael (*i. e.* Scots) with their king in Forteviot made (*i. e.* re-enacted) the rights and laws of the kingdom of Ed the son of Ecdach.

DCCCLX. Gormlaih, daughter to Donogh, amenissima regina Scotorum, post penitentiam, obiit.*

DCCCLXII. Obiit [Duvenaldus] in palacio cum [l. suo] Belachoir, id. April.†

Constantinus filius Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Mael Sechnaill, rex Hybernen-

* *An. Ul.*

† *Cro. Pic.* "Duvenald Mac-Alpin 4 an. mortuus in Rath in Veramont, sepultus in Yona insula." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Dolfnal fil. Alpini iv." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Acheathair Dhomhnaill dhreachruaid," (*i. e.* Four Donald of ruddy countenance). *Duan.* "861. Donal Mac Alpin,

sium, obiit,* & Aed filius Niel tenuit regnum:
864. & post duos vastavit Amlaib, cum gentibus suis,
Pictaviam, et habitantes eam à kal. Januarii usque
865. ad festum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib,
876. trahens cetum, à Constantino occisus est. Paulo
post ab eo bello, in decimo quarto ejus facto, in Dolain inter Danarios et Scottos occisi Scotti in *Coachcochlam.* Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.†

DCCCLXII. Donald died in his palace of Belachoir, on the ides of April.

Constantine, the son of Kenneth, reigned sixteen years. In his first year Maol Sechnaill king of the

king of Pights, died." *An. Ul.* "Anno DCCC.LXIII. Obiit Dovenaldus rex Scotorum." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Rex Dovenaldus ei successit quatuor annis
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit.
Regis prædicti frater fuit ille Kinedi;
Qui Sconæ fertur subditus esse neci."
Chro. elegiacum.

The royal palace of Belachor (according to Innes) is mentioned in the life of St. Cadroe.

* Mael-seachlin rex Hyberniæ obiit A.D. 863." Innes.

† *Cro. Pic.* "Constantin Mac-Kinath 16 an." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Constantinus fil. Kinet. xx." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Triotha bliachaindo Constantin," (*i. e.* Thirty years to Constantine). *Duan.*

Irish died, and Hugh the son of Niel held the kingdom; and, after two years, Anlaf with his gentiles wasted Pictavia, and those inhabiting it, from the kalends of January until the feast of St. Patrick. Again, in the third year, Anlaf, leading an army, was slain. A little after that battle, made in his fourteenth year in Dolair, between the Danes and the Scots, the Scots were slain in *Coach-cocham.* The Normans remained a whole year in Pictland.

DCCCLXXXII. Interfectus à Norwigensibus in bello in *Merdo*-(alwerde)-*fatha;* sepultus in Iona insula.*

Edus tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitas nil historiæ memoriæ commendavit: sed in civitate Uturim [Ulurim] est occisus.†

* *Nomina regum, &c.* "875. Constantin Mac Cinach rex Pictorum, mort." *An. Ul.* "Anno DCCC.LXXVIII. Occiditur Constantinus rex Scottorum." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Fil Constantinus, post hunc, rex quinque ter annis,
Regis Kinedi filius ille fuit.
In bello pugnans Dacorum corruit armis;
Nomine Nigra Specus est ubi pugna fuit."
Chro. elegiacum.

† *Cro. Pic.* "Ed Mac-Kinet uno anno. Interfectus in bello in Strathalin a Girg filio Dungal. sepultus in Iona."

DCCCLXXXII. Slain by the Norwegians, in the battle in *Merdo-fatha;* interred in the island Iona.

Hugh held the same one year: But the shortness [of his reign] has left nothing to memory: but he was slain in the city of Ulern.

DCCCLXXXIII. Eochodius autem, filius Kun regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regnavit annis undecim. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse, eo quod alumnus ordinatorque

Nomina regum, &c. "Het filius Kinet uno anno." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Da bliadhain Da brathari do Aodh flionus gothach," (*i. e.* Two years to his brother, to Hugh the fair-haired). *Duan.* "877. Aod Mac Cinaoth rex Pictorum à sociis suis occisus est." *An. Ul.* The Chronicle of Mailros places the death of Hed, the brother of Constantine, in the same year (*i. e.* 878).

"Ejusdem frater regnaverat Albipes [l. Alipes] Edhus,
Qui Grig Dofnalidæ saucius ense perit.
Hic postquam primum regni compleverat annum,
In Stratalum vitam vulnere finierat."

Chro. elegiacum.

Ulrim, Sir James Dalrymple takes to be a place in the county of Murray, near Burgie or Kinlos. See *Col.* p. 99. It is remarkable, if this be the true reading, that Malcolm I. was slain at the same place.

Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed filius 884.
Neil moritur;* ac, in nono anno, ipso die Cirici, 891.
eclipsis solis facta est.† Echodius cum alumno suo
expulsus est nunc de regno.‡

* Edan VI. son of Neal, called Finliat, king of Temoria, died in 879. Ware.

† If *die Cerici* mean the feast of *St. Cyriacus*, which is the *8th of August*, there was certainly an eclipse of the sun on that day in the year 891: but if they mean that of St. *Cyr*, or *Cyricus*, which is the 16*th of June*, there was no eclipse on this day subsequent to 885; though there actually was one on the 17*th* of that month, 893. See *L'art de verifier les dates*, &c.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* Neither this Eochy, nor his father Kun, is mentioned anywhere else. The *Nomina regum*, instead of him, have "Grig MacDunegal [the *Ciricius*, it would seem, of the Pictish chronicle] 12 an. Mortuus est in Dundum, et sepultus in Iona. Hic subjugavit sibi Hyberniam totam, et fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ suo servitate erat illud tempus ex constitutione et more Pictorum." The *Cronica regum* has, also, "Grig fil. Dungal xii.;" and the *Chronicle of Mailros*, at 897, "Obiit Grig." He likewise appears in the *Chronicon elegiacum;* which evidently follows the *Nomina regum:*

"Grig sua jura gerens annis deca rex fit et octo,
In Dunduren probus morte retentus erat;
Qui dedit ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ,
Quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.
Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglia tota peracta;
Quod non leva dedit sors sibi bella terens."

This conqueror of almost all England is, however, totally unknown to the old English historians.

DCCCLXXXIII. Eochy, now, the son of Kun, king of the Britons, [and] grandson of Kenneth, by his daughter, reigned eleven years. Although others say, that his son Grig reigned here, for that he was foster-father and manager to Eochy. In whose second year Hugh the son of Niel died: and, in his ninth year, on the very day of St. Cyrick (or Cyriack) there was an eclipse of the sun. Eochy, with his foster-father, was now expelled from the kingdom.

DCCCXC. Gens Scottorum, innumerabili exercitu coadunato, inter cætera suæ crudelitatis facinora, Lindisfarnense monasterium sæviens et rapiens invasit: contra quos dum rex Guthredus, per sanctum Cuthbertum confortatus, pugnaturus staret, subito terra dehiscens hostes vivos omnes absorbuit, renovato ibi miraculo antiquo, quando aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron. Qualiter autem gestum sit, alibi constat esse scriptum [Q. ubi?]*

DCCCXC. The nation of the Scots, having gathered together an innumerable army, among the

* *S. Dunel.* (His. de Dunel. ec.) Co. 22.

rest of its deeds of cruelty, raging and plundering, invaded the monastery of Lindisfarne; against whom whilst king Guthred, encouraged by St. Cuthbert, was about to fight, of a sudden the earth opening absorbed all the enemies alive; the ancient miracle, when the earth was opened and swallowed Dathan, and closed upon the congregation of Abiron, being there renewed. But how it was done, appears to be written elsewhere.

DCCCXCIV. Donivaldus [l. Dovenaldus] filius Constantini, tenuit regnum xi. annis. Normanni tunc vastaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum autem factum in Vifid collan [f. in urbe Cullen] inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother [l. Fores] occisum [l. occisus] est a gentibus.*

* *Cro. Pic.* "Dovenal Mac-Constantin 11 an. Mortuus est in Fores, & sepultus in Iona." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Duneval [l. Dovenal] fil. Constantin xi." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Domhnall, mhic Constantin chain bliadhain fa cheathair, (*i. e.* Donald, the son of Constantine the eloquent, spent years one and four). *Duan.* "Anno 900. Quies Domnaldi filii Constantini regis Albaniæ." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 485).

DCCCXCIV. Donald, the son of Constantine, held the kingdom eleven years. The Normans then wasted Pictland. Now, in his reign, there was a battle in *Vifid-collan,* between the Danes and the Scots: the Scots had the victory. At the town of Fores he was slain by the gentiles.

DCCCCI. Edwardus filius Alfredi . . . Scottos, qui aquilonarem insulæ partem inhabitant . . . bellis profligatis, suæ ditioni subegit.*

DCCCCI. Edward the son of Alfred . . . brought under his dominion the Scots, who inhabit the north part of the island, [whom he had] routed in battles.

"899. Daniel Mac-Constantin, king of Scotland, died." *An. Ul.*

"Post hunc in Scotia regnavit rex Dovenaldus,
Hic Constantino filius ortus erat.
In villa fertur rex iste perisse Forensi,
Undecimo regni sole rotante sui."

Chro. elegiacum.

* W. Malmes. L. 2. c. 5.

DCCCCIV. Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum quadraginta annis : cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam : in sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Fraith [l. Sraith] heremi Normanni : ac in sexto anno, Constantinus rex et Cellachus episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in colle credulitatis, prope regali civitate Scoan devoverunt custoditur [l. custodiri]. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, *i. e.* collis credulitatis. Et in suo viii. anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hybernensium, et archiepiscopus apud Laignechos, *i. e.* Cormac filius Culenan :* et mortui sunt, in tempore hujus, Dovenaldus rex Britannorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ed rex eligitur ; et Flana filius Mael Sethnail,† et Niall filius Ede qui regnavit tribus annis post Flannu, &c.‡

907.
908.
910.
912.

DCCCCIV. Constantine, the son of Hugh,

* O'Flaherty fixes the battle of Mugna, and the death of Cormac the bishop, and the king of Munster, to the 16th of August 608. *Ogygia*, p. 422.

† Flan, son of Melsechlin, king of Temoria, died 916. Ware.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* The real name of these two British (*i. e.* Strath-Clyde) kings was, probably, *Dunwallo ; Donald* being a Scotish or Irish, and not a Welsh name.

held the kingdom forty years; in whose third year the Normans plundered Dunkeld, and all Albany. In the following year also the Normans were killed in Strath heremi; and in the sixth year, Constantine and Cellach the bishop devoted the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and gospels, equally with the Scots, in the hill of credulity, near the royal city Scone, to be kept. From this day the hill merited this name, that is, the hill of credulity. And, in his eighth year, fell the most high king of the Irish; and the archbishop at Laignechos, that is, Cormac the son of Culenan: and, in his time, died Donald king of the Britons, and Donald, the son of Ed, was elected king; and Flan the son of Mael-Sethnaill, and Nial, the son of Ede, who reigned three years after Flan.

DCCCCXIII. Maolmor Mac Lanirke, daughter to Cinaoh Mac Alpin, [died].*

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* *An. Ul.* She was the wife of Flan, king of Ireland, and had by him a daughter, Ligacha, the mother of Congal. See O'Flaherty, p. 435. The original at Oxford reads *Maclmrke.*

DCCCCXVIII. The gentiles of Locheachaoch left Ireland, and went for Scotland. The men of Scotland, with the assistance of the north Saxons, prepared before them. The gentiles divided themselves into four battles, viz. One by Godfrey Oh Ivar; another by the two earls; the third by the young lords; and the fourth by Ranall Mac Bioloch, that the Scots did not see. But the Scots overthrew the three they saw, and they had a great slaughter of them about Ottir and Gragava. But Ranall gave the onset behind the Scots, that he had the killing of many of them; only that neither king nor 'thane' was lost in the conflict. The night discharged the battle.*

DCCCCXX. Rex Scottorum cum tota gente sua, et Regnaldus rex Danorum, ... rex etiam Streddedunelorum [l. Stredcleduvalorum] cum suis, regem Eadwardum seniorem sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt, firmumque fœdus cum eo pepigerunt.†

* *An Ul.* For *Scotland* the original reads *Alban.*

† S. Dunel.

DCCCCXX. The king of Scots, with all his nation, and Reynold king of the Danes, . . . the king also of those of Strath-Clyde, with his people, chose king Edward the elder for their father and lord, and contracted with him a firm league.

DCCCCXXII. Bellum Tinemore factum est in decimo octavo anno [Constantini] inter Constantinum et Regnall, et Scotti habuerunt victoriam.*

DCCCCXXII. The battle of Tinemore was fought in the eighteenth year of Constantine, be-

* *Cro. Pic.* "Regenwaldus rex venit cum magna multitudine navium, occupavit terram Aldredi filii Eadulfi qui erat delectus regi Eadwardo . . . Fugatus igitur Eldredus in Scotiam ivit, Constantini regis auxilium quæsivit, illum contra Regenwaldum regem apud Corobrige in prælium adduxit. In quo prælio, nescio quo peccato agente, paganus rex vincit, Constantinum fugavit, Scottos fudit, Elfredum, et omnes meliores Anglos interfecit, præter Ealdredum, et fratrem ejus Uhtred." S. Dunel. Co. 73. He gives no date, nor is such a battle mentioned by any other historian, but the anonymous continuator of Bede. Reynold, or Reginald, the son of Gudferth, or Guthred, was a Danish king of Northumberland, who took York in 923, was baptised in 942, and expelled by Edmund in 944. See *Chro. Sax.*

tween Constantine and Reynold, and the Scots had the victory.

DCCCCXXIV. Aethelstanus filius Edwardi, Ludwalem regem omnium Wallensium, et Constantinum regem Scottorum cedere regnis compulit. Quos tamen non multo post, miseratione infractus, in antiquum statum sub se regnaturos constituit, gloriosius esse pronuncians regem facere quam regem esse.*

DCCCCXXIV. Athelstan, the son of Edward, compelled Ludwal, king of all the Welsh, and Constantine, king of the Scots, to yield their kingdoms: whom, nevertheless, not long after, affected with commiseration, he appointed to reign under him, according to their ancient state, pronouncing it to be more glorious to make a king than to be a king.

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* W. Malmes. l. 2, c. 6. "Omnes etiam reges totius Albionis, regem scilicet . . . . Scottorum Constantinum, regemque Wentorum Wuer prælio vicit et fugavit." S. Dunel. co. 154. See also *Chro. Sax. ad annum.*

DCCCCXXVI. Rex Ethelstanus . . . regem Scottorum Constantinum prælio vicit et fugavit.

DCCCCXXVI. King Athelstan . . . defeated and put to flight Constantine, king of the Scots.

DCCCCXXXIV. Strenuus rex Ethelstanus, quia rex Scottorum Constantinus fœdus quod cum eo pepigerat, dirupit, classica manu pervalida, et equestri exercitu non modico, ad Scotiam proficiscitur. Qui Scotiam usque Dunfoeder et Wertermorum terrestri exercitu vastavit, navali vero usque Catenes depopulatur. Unde vi compulsus rex Constantinus filium suum obsidem cum dignis muneribus illi dedit.*

DCCCCXXXIV. The brave king Ethelstan, because Constantine, king of the Scots, broke the league which he had made with him, with a very strong fleet, and no mean army of horse, went to

* S. Dunel. co. 154. See also co. 134; and *Chro. Sax. ad annum.*

Scotland; and wasted Scotland, with his land-army, as far as Dunfoeder and Wertermorum, but with his naval one, depopulated it as far as Caithness: whence, compelled by force, Constantine gave to him his son as a hostage, with suitable presents.

DCCCCXXXVII. Bellum Dumbrunde [l. Brunburg] in tricesimo quarto ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Constantini.*

DCCCCXXXVII. The battle of Brunburg, in his thirty-fourth year; where fell the son of Constantine.

DCCCCXXXVIII. Mortuus est Dubican filius Indrechtaig mormair Oengusa.†

* *Cro. Pic.* See more of this battle in "*The Annals of Cumberland*," *ad. an.* 938. "Cecidit ibi," says W. of Malmesbury, "rex Scottorum Constantinus, perfidæ animositatis et vivacis senectæ homo, aliique reges quinque, comites duodecim, omnisque pene barbarorum congeries, pauci qui evaserant pro fide Christi suscipienda conservati." (L. 2, c. 6, p. 49.)

† *Cro. Pic.*

DCCCCXXXVIII. Dubican, the son of Indrechtaig, thane of Angus, died.

DCCCCXL. Adelstan filius Aduar [l. Eadwardi] rig Saxan [f. Saxonum regis], et Eochaid filius Alpin mortui sunt.*

DCCCCXL. Athelstan, the son of Edward, king of the Saxons, and Eochy, the son of Alpin, died.

DCCCCXLIII. In senectute decrepitus baculum cepit [R. Constantinus] et domino servivit; et regnum mandavit Mael [l. Maelcolaim] filio Donmail.†

DCCCCXLIII. King Constantine, in a decre-

* *Ibi.* If this Eochaid, or Eochy, were a younger son of king Alpin, he must have been a hundred years old at the time of his death. The name of this son, at the same time, affords another proof that it was also that of Alpins father.

† *Ibi.*

pid old age, took the staff, and served the lord, and committed his kingdom to Malcolm, the son of Donald.

DCCCCXLIV. Maelcolaim filius Domnail xi. annis regnavit. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolaim perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach.*

DCCCCXLIV. Malcolm the son of Donald reigned eleven years. Malcolm, with his army, went into Murray, and slew Cellach.

DCCCCXLV. Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est, illamque regi Scottorum Malcolmo eo tenore dedit, ut terra marique sibi fidelis existeret.†

DCCCCXLV. Edmund, the magnificent king of the English, depopulated the land of the Cum-

* *Ibi.* † S. Dunel. co. 156.

brians, and gave it to Malcolm, king of the Scots, upon this condition that he should be faithful to him by land and sea.

DCCCCXLVI. Edredus tertius ex filiis Edwardi, regnum suscipiens, rexit annis 9 et dimidio. Ejus magnanimitas, à patre et fratribus non degenerans, hanc summam dedit, Northanimbros et Scottos, facile ad sacramentum suæ fidelitatis adactos, et mox fœdifragos; quodam Iricio rege super se statuto, pene ex hominibus delevit, tota provincia fame ferroque fœdata.*

DCCCCXLVI. Edred, the third of Edwards sons, receiving the kingdom, reigned nine years and a half. His magnanimity, not degenerating from

* W. Malmes. l. 2, c. 7. H. Hunting. l. 5, p. 355. In he life of St. Cadroe, he is conducted from the city Loida (apparently Carlisle) "ad regem Erichium in Euroacum [f. Eboracum] urbem: qui scilicet rex habebat conjugem ipsius domini Kaddroe propinquam." This Ericius, or Ericus, was a Dane, or of Danish extraction, who, being made king of the Northumbrians in 947, was banished in the following year. See R. de Hoveden, p. 423.

his father and brethren, gave this opinion, that the Northumbrians and Scots were easily brought to their oath of fidelity, and presently broke it. A certain king Iricius being set over them, he almost destroyed it of men, the whole province being polluted (or rent) with famine and the sword.

DCCCCLII. [Malcolm rex] in septimo anno regni sui prædavit Anglos ad amnem Thesis; et multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta pecorum; quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albidosorum *i. e.* Nauudisi.* Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam, quærens a rege, *i. e.* Maelcolaim, regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis, ut visitaret Anglos. Veruntamen non Maelcolaim fecit hanc prædam, sed instigavit eum Constantinus, ut dixi.†

DCCCCLII. King Malcolm, in the seventh year of his reign, made a prey upon the English at the river Tees, and carried off a multitude of men, anb many herds of cattle; which prey the Scots called

* Inexplicable corruptions. † *Cro. Pic.*

the prey of the Albudi, that is, Nauuidisi. Others, however, say that Constantine made this prey, seeking from the king, that is, Malcolm, the kingdom to be given to him for a week, that he might visit the English. Nevertheless Malcolm did not make this prey, but Constantine instigated him, as I have said.

DCCCCLIV. Mortuus est Constantinus in decimo ejus anno [sci. Malcolmi] sub corona pœnitenti, in senectute bona.*

DCCCCLIV. Constantine died in his (Mal-

* *Ibi.* "Constantin Mac-Edha 40 an. Hic dimisso regno sponte deo in habitu religionis abbas factus Keledeorum S. Andreæ 5 ann. et ibi mortuus est et sepultus." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Constantin. fil. Hed. xxv." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Constantin . . . chaith a se is da f'hicheat" (i. e. Constantine spent six and forty). *Duan.* "951. Constantine Mac Aod king of Scotland [died]." *An. Ul.* "Anno DCCCC.XLIII. "Obiit Constantinus rex Scottorum." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Constantinus idem, cujus pater Hed fuit Albus,
Bis deca rex annis vixerat, atque decem:
Andreæ sancti fuit hic quinquennis in urbe,
Religionis ubi jure fruens obiit."

Chro. elegiacum.

colms) tenth year, under the crown of repentance, in a good old age.

DCCCCLV. Occiderunt viri Na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresack, *i. e.* in Claideom.*

Indulfus tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacatum est, ac relictum est Scottis in hodiernum diem. Classi [f. classici] Somarlediorum occisi sunt in Bucham.‡

* *Cro. Pic.* "Malcolm Mac-Dovenald 9 an. interfectus in Ulurn à Moraviensibus; sepultus in Iona." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Malcolm fil. Dunevald [l. Duvenald] ix." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Maolcholum ceithre bliadhna" (i. e. Malcolm four years). *Duan.* "Anno 953, Malcoluim mac Domnail rex Albaniæ à suis occisus est." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 486). "953. Maolcolum Mac Donal king of Scotland killed." *An. Ul.*

"Huic † rex Malcolmus successit in tribus annis,
Regis Donaldi filius ille fuit.
Interfecerunt in Unlun hunc Moravienses,
Gentis apostaticæ fraude doloque cadit."

Chro. elegiacum.

See Sir James Dalrymples *Collections*, p. 99.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* Perhaps it should be Classi [advenientes] Somarlediorum [numeri] occisi sunt. These Somarleds, or Summerlids, were Danish or Norwegian pirates, who may

† *i. e.* Constantine.

DCCCCLV. The men of Moerne slew Malcolm in Fodresack, that is, in Claideom.

Indulf held the kingdom eight years. In his time the town of Eden was vacated, and left to the Scots unto this day. The seamen of the Sumerleds were slain in Buchan.

DCCCCLXI. Indulph rex Albaniæ mortuus est.*

only have made their appearance in summer (from liod Saxon). In the Saxon chronicle, an. 871, we read, "efter thyssum gefeoht com micel sumor-lida to Readingum," (*i. e.* after this fight came much Summerlids to Reading); which bishop Gibson has improperly rendered "magna quies æstiva," though he might have found it correctly explained by Ethelwerd, "æstivus exercitus" (l. 4, c. 3). Sumerlede also was a common name among the Saxons or Danes. See S. Dunel. co. 82; Historia ecclesiæ Eliensis (apud Galei Scriptores xv.) l. 1, c. 15: J. Bromton, co. 809; R. de Hoveden, p. 493; and *Torfæi Orcades*, p. 66. As this, therefore, appears to have been a name assumed by themselves, it by no means, as mr. Pinkerton absurdly maintains, "shews that the Irish was never that of Scotland, being a Pikish or Gothic, and yet common appellation." (*Enquiry*, II, 186.)

* *Cro. Pic.* "Induff Mac-Constantin 9 an. interfectus a Norwagensibus in Inverculan; sepultus in Iona." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Indolf fil. Constantin. ix." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Indolph a hocht" (*i. e.* Indulf eight). *Duan.* Tigernach

Niger filius Maelcolaim regnavit quinque annis.†
Fothach episcopus pausavit.‡

DCCCCLXI. Indulph king of Albany died.
Duf, the son of Malcolm, reigned five years.
Fothach the bishop died.

DCCCCLXIV. [Bellum] inter Iger [l. Niger, *i. e.* Duff, et] Caniculum [*i. e.* Culen] super dor-

(O'Fla. p. 486.) "Anno DCCCC.LXI. Rex Scottorum Indulfus occiditur." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Post hunc* Indulfus totidem regnaverat annis,
Ens Constantini filius Edsaydæ.
In bello pugnans, ad fluminis ostia Collin,
Dacorum gladiis protinus occubuit."

Chro. elegiacum.

† *Cro. Pic.* "Duff Mac Malcolm 4 ann. et 6 mens." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Duf fil. Malcolm iv an. et vi mens." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Seach mbliadhua Dubhoda den (*i. e.* seven years Duff the brown). *Duan.* Mr. Pinkerton calls this monarch Odo Duff, because Fordun says he succeeded in the 24th year of the emperor Otho.

‡ *Ibi.* This is the prelate, of whom Fordun says he found, in the circumference of the silver cover of the gospels, preserved in St. Andrews, this engraving:

"Hanc evangeli thecam construxit Avilus
Fothad, qui primus Scotis episcopus est." (P. 551.)

* Malcolmum.

sum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam; ubi cecidit Duchad abbas Duncalden, et Dubdou satrapas Athochlach. Expulsus Niger de regno, et tenuit Caniculus brevi tempore. Domnall filius Canil mortuus est.*

DCCCCLXIV. A battle, between Duff and Culen, upon Drum-Crup, in which Duff had the victory; where fell Duncan, abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubdou, thane of Athol. Duff was expelled from the kingdom, and Culen held it a short time. Donald the son of Canil died.

DCCCCLXV. Culen-ring quinquo annis regnavit. Marcan filius Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia S. Michaelis. Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd episcopus † pausavit. Cellach filius Ferdulaig regnavit.‡ Culen, et frater ejus Eochodius, occisi sunt a Britonibus.‖

* *Ibi.* "963. Battle between Scotsmen about Etir [r, Etain, or Edin], where many slain about Donoch abbot of Duncalden." *An. Ul.*

† *i. e.* S. Andreæ, dictus et Malisiur. Innes.

‡ *i. e.* rexit, sive gubernavit, loco sci. Malisiur sive Maelbrigd. *Idem.*

‖ *Cro. Pic.* "Culin Mac-Induff 4 an. et 6 mens. Inter-

DCCCCLXV. Culen-rig reigned five years. Marcan, the son of Breodalaig, was killed in the church of St. Michael. Leot and Sluagadach went to Rome. Maolbrigd, the bishop, died. Cellach, the son of Ferdulaig, governed [in his stead]. Culen, and his brother Eochy, were slain by the Britons.

DCCCCLXVII. Duff Mac Maolcolum, king of Scotland, killed by Scots men themselves.*

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fectus ab Andarch filio Dovenald propter filiam suam in Laudonia." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Culen fil. Indulf iv an. et vi mens." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Agusa ceathair Culen" (*i. e.* and four Culen). *Duan.* "Cuilen Mac Innulbh rex Albaniæ a Britonibus incensa domo perditus." Tigernach (O'Fla. p. 487.) "970. Culen Illuilc king of Scotland killed by Britons in open battle." *An. Ul.* "Anno DCCCC.LXIX. Rex Scottorum Culenus perimitur." *Chron. de Mailros.*

"Filius Indulfi totidem quoque rex fuit annis,
Nomine Culenus vir fuit insipiens.
Fertur apud Lovias illum truncasse Radhardas,
Pro rapta nata quam sibi rex rapuit."

Chro. elegiacum.

* *An. Ul.* Original: "Duv Mac Mælcolain ri Alban." "Interfectus in Fores, et absconditus sub ponte de Kinlos, et

DCCCCLXX. Cinadius filius Maelcolami regnavit [xxiv] annis. Statim prædavit Britanniam, ex parte pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in Moniuacornar. Scotti prædaverunt Saxoniam et ad Stammoir [l. Stanmoir]* et ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Deram. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo [l. proximo] anno perexit Cinadius et prædavit Saxoniam, et traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino.†

sol non apparuit, quamdiu ibi latuit. Sepultus in Iona." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Anno DCCCC.LXV. Rex Duf Scottorum interficitur." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Quatuor et semis rex Duf regnavit aristis,
Malcolmo natus regia jura gerens.
Hunc interfecit gens perfida Moraviensis,
Cujus erat gladiis cæsus in urbe Fores.
Sol abdit radios, ipso sub ponte latente,
Quo fuit absconsus, quoque repertus erat."

Chro. elegiacum.

* Saxonia is England. Stanmore is in Westmoreland.

† *Cro. Pic.* "Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24 an. et 2 mens." *Nomina regum, &c.* "Kinet fil. Malcolm xxii an. et ii mens." *Cro. regum, &c.* "A seacht fith cheat os gachcloinn, Do Chionaoth mhic Maoilcholuim" (*i. e.* Seven and twenty, over each clan, to Kenneth the son of Malcolm). *Duan.* Here ends the *Cronica Pictorum*, which appears, from that circumstance, and the phraseology "Hic est qui, &c.' to have been written in the lifetime of Kenneth.

DCCCCLXX. Kenneth the son of Malcolm reigned 24 years. Forthwith he harried Britain (*i. e.* Strath-Clyde), and on the side of Kenneth his foot-soldiers were slain in a very great slaughter in Monivacornar. The Scots harried Saxony to Statemake, and at Cluyd, and the lake of Deram? Now Kenneth walled the banks of the fords of Forth. In the next year he went and harried Saxony (*i. e.* England, or Lothian), and carried off the son of the king of the Saxons. This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the lord.

DCCCCLXXI. Rex Eadgarus * barones Northumbrenses in consilium convocans apud Eboracum, capitula multa ad regni negotia spectantia bene ordinavit. Inter quæ etiam Osulfi comitatum, quem avunculus ejus Eadredus toti Northumbriæ sub nomine comitis præfecerat, in duos divisit comitatus. Ipso Osulfo jam mortuo, noluit sub nomine hæreditatis rex eam partem terræ alicui provenire soli, ne ad antiquam libertatem aspirantes † North-

* Edgar succeeded his brother Edwig, as king of all England, in 959 and died in 975.

† Here is a considerable defect, occasioned, it would seem, by the recurrence of the word *Northimbriæ*. The sense of the entire passage must have been, that, lest the Northum-

imbriæ, hoc est, ab Humbria usque ad Theisam, Oslach, et comitis gladio eum cinxit. A Theisa vero usque ad Mireforth* sub nomine etiam comitatus, partem videlicet maritimam Deiræ, dedit Eadulf cognomento Ewelthild. Sicque duo regna ad duos comitatus devenerunt, permanseruntque omni tempore regum Anglorum sub ditione et donatione eorundem. Louthion vero semper patuit excursibus Scotorum et Pictorum, et idcirco parum curæ fuit regibus hæc pars terræ. Porro rex Scotorum Kineth audiens ex fama et commendatione duorum comitum Oslach et Eadulf, et episcopi Dunelmi Elfsi,† Eadgari regis magnificentiam, desiderio videndi petivit conductum veniendi Londoniam, ut cum eodem colloqueretur, et impetravit: Conduxeruntque eum ex precepto regis duo comites predicti et episcopus. Venit Londonias Kineth rex Scotorum, ubi à rege Eadgaro honorificè susceptus est, et honori habitus; cumque amicè familiariter et jocunde colloquerentur; suggessit rex Kineth regi Eadgaro Louthion ad suum jus debere

brians, aspiring after their ancient liberty, should endeavour to restore their monarchy, he gave the southern part of Northumberland, that is, from the Humber to the Tees, to Oslach.

* *i. e.* the water or firth of Forth.

† *Elfsig*, or *Alfsi*, bishop of Chester on the street, from 968 to 990.

pertinere, et hæreditariè à regibus Scotorum possideri.* Rex nolens aliquid abruptè facere, ne post factum pœniteret, regis Kineth causam curiæ suæ intimavit. Proceres vero qui à progenitoribus erant eruditi, nisi sub nomine homagii regi Anglorum à rege Scotorum inpensi,† et præcipue quia ad tuendum terram illam difficilis est accessus, et harum proficua ejus dominatio, assensit autem assertioni huic Kineth, et sub nomine homagii eam petiit et accepit, fecitque regi Eadgaro homagium sub cautione multa promittens, quod populo partis illius antiquas consuetudines non negaret, et sub nomine et lingua Anglicana permanerent. Quod usque hodie firmum manet.‡ Sicque determinata est vetus querela de Louthion, et adhuc nova sæpe intentatur. Subjectus est ergo Eadgaro rex prædictus prædicta causa, sed et rex Cumborum Malcolm, et Oriccus [Maccus] plurimarum

* Lothian had undoubtedly been part of the Pictish territory, conquered by the Northumbrian kings, but never possessed by a Scotish monarch. Kenneth, no doubt, pretended to be representative of the Picts.

† These passages seem to have been rendered imperfect by the transcriber.

‡ Not in the writers time, but in that of the more ancient author whose words he uses.

rex insularum, et Orcadum diversi reges. Qui omnes Eadgaro homagii nomine tenebantur.*

DCCCCLXXI. King Edgar, convoking the Northumbrian barons to a council at York, wisely ordained many laws touching the affairs of his kingdom: among which also the county of Osulf, whom his uncle Edred had, under the name of earl, set over all Northumberland, he divided into two counties. This Osulf being now dead, the king was unwilling that this part of the land should come to any one under the name of inheritance, lest, aspiring to ancient liberty, . . . of Northumberland, that is, from Humber as far as Tees [he gave to] Oslach, and girded him with the sword of earl. But, from Tees as far as Mireforth, under the name also of a county, to wit, the mari-

* J. de Wallingford, p. 545. "Demum sub Eadgaro rege Oslac preficitur comes Eboraco et locis pertinentibus, et Eadulf cognamento Weleild a Teisa usque Myreforth preponitur Northymbris. Isti duo comites cum Elfsio qui apud sanctum Cuthbertum episcopus fuerat perduxerunt Kyneth regem Scottorum ad regem Eadgarum. Qui cum illi fecisset hominium dedit ei rex Eadgarus Lodoneium et multo cum honore remisit ad propria."—*Chronicon vetus Simeoni Dunelmensi adscriptum*, *Caligula*, A. VIII. See also M. West, ad an. 975, and afterward under 1018.

time part of Deira, he gave to Eadulf surnamed Ewelthild: and so two kingdoms came down to two counties, and remained, in all the time of the kings of the English, under their dition and donation. But Lothian always lay open to the excursions of the Scots and Picts, and therefore little of care was this part of the land to the kings. Moreover the king of Scots, Kenneth, hearing from the report and commendation of the two earls, Oslach and Eadulf, and of the bishop of Durham Elfsi, the magnificence of king Edgar, with the desire of seeing him, requested a conduct of coming to London, that he might converse with him, and obtained it: and the two earls and bishop aforesaid conducted him by the kings command. Kenneth, king of the Scots, came to London, where he was honorably received by king Edgar, and treated with honour; and as they conversed in a friendly, familiar, and jocund, manner, king Kenneth suggested to king Edgar that Lothian ought to belong to his right, and to be possessed hereditarily, by the kings of the Scots. The king, unwilling to do any thing abruptly, lest he should after repent the deed, intimated the cause of king Kenneth to his court. But the nobles, who were instructed by their progenitors, unless under the name of homage done to the king of the English by the king of the Scots,

and, especially, because the approach was difficult to defend that country, and its dominion of little profit, Kenneth, however, assented to this assertion, and, under the name of homage, asked and accepted it, and did homage to king Edgar under caution, promising many things, that he would not deny to the people of that part their ancient customs, and that they should remain under the English name and language: which remains firm until this day: and so was determined the old quarrel concerning Lothian, and yet a new one is often threatened. The aforesaid king was, therefore, subject to Edgar, for the cause aforesaid, but also the king of the Cumbrians Malcolm, and Maccus king of a great many isles, and the different kings of the Orkneys: who were all bound to Edgar in the name of homage.

DCCCCLXXIII. [Eadgarus rex Angliæ] regem Scottorum Kunadium, archipiratam Maccusium, omnesque reges Wallensium,...ad curiam coactos, uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligavit.*

* W. Malmes, p. 56. See also *Chro. Sax.* which speaks of six kings, but mentions none by name. "Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus ... cum ingenti classe, Britannia circum-

DCCCCLXXIII. Edgar, king of England, bound to himself Kenneth,—king of the Scots, the archpirate Maccus, and all the kings of the Welsh, ...assembled at his court, in one and a perpetual oath.

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navigata, ad Legionum civitatem [hodie Chester] appulit. Cui subreguli ejus octo, Kynath, scilicet, rex Scottorum, Malcolm rex Cumbrorum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii V. Dufnald, Siferth, Huval, Jacob, Nichil [Juchil or Inchil], ut mandaverat, occurrerunt, et quod sibi fideles et terra et mari cooperatores se vellent juraverunt. Cum quibus die quadam scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis De perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procerum simili navigio comitante, à palatio ad monasterium sancti Johannis Baptistæ navigavit." S. Dunel. co. 159. See also Flo. Wigor. J. Bromton, et *Chro. de Mailros, ad annum.* It appears, from this passage, and several others, as well in these annals, as at later periods, that the Scotish monarchs did occasional homage to the Saxon kings, if not for their whole kingdom, at least for Lothian, which, though it had been formerly possessed by the Picts, was certainly, for several centuries a part of the kingdom of Northumberland, and, consequently, after the termination of that monarchy, within the kingdom of England. William king of Scotland did fealty and homage to king Henry II. in 1175, for all his possessions, and particularly for Scotland and Galloway (*Benedictus*, 113); and, though the Scotish monarch did, afterward, for a valuable consideration, obtain a release of some unusual conditions from Richard I. still it was with an express reservation of what Malcolm, his brother, had of right done, and ought to do, to that kings ancestors (*Idem*, 581.)

DCCCCLXXVII. Amlaus, filius Indulphi regis Albaniæ, à Kinetho filio Malcolmi capite plectitur.*

DCCCCLXXVII. Anlaf, son of Indulph king of Albany, is beheaded by Kenneth, the son of Malcolm.

DCCCCXCIV. Interfectus in Fotherkern à suis, per perfidiam Finellæ filiæ Cunechat comitis de Angus, cujus Finellæ filium unicum prædictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunfinoen.†

* Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 487). "Aulaiv MacAlaiv, king of Scotland [r. Gentilium] killed by Cinaoh MacDonell [r. MacMalcolm]." *An. Ul.* This Anlaf, Aulaf, or Olave, was king of the Dubh-gall, or pagan Danes, who had possessed himself, it would seem, of some part of Scotland.

† *Nomina regum*, &c. "*Anno* 995, Kinethus filius Malcolmi a suis occisus est." Tigernach (O'Fla. p. 487). "994. Cinaoh Mac Maolcolum, king of Scotland, killed *per dolum*." *An. Ul.* "*Anno* DCCCCXCIV. Rex Scottorum Kined oceiditur." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Inclytus in Scotia fertur regnasse Kinedus,
Malcolmi natus, quatuor et deca bis.
Iste Fortherkernæ telis fit et arte peremptus,
Natæ Cuncari Fimberhele fraude cadens."

Chro. cleg.

Constantin MacCulin uno anno et sex mensibus [regnavit].*

DCCCCXCIV. Slain in Fotherkern, by his own people, through the perfidy of Finella, daughter of Cunechat, earl of Angus, the only son of which Finella the aforesaid Kenneth slew at Dunfinoen.

Constantin, the son of Culin, reigned one year and six months.

DCCCCXCVI. Interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolmi [l. Malcolmo filio Kinat] in Rathveramoen, et sepultus in Iona.†

* *Nomina regum*, &c. "Constantin fil. Culen uno an. et dimid." *Cro. regum Scot.* "Seaght mbliadhna constantin" (*i. e.* seven years Constantin). *Duan.*

† *Nomina regum*, &c. "Anno 997, Prælium inter ipsos Albanos; in quo Constantinus rex Albaniæ, Culeni sc. filius, et alii ceciderunt." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 487). "Anno DCCCC. XCV. Rex Scottorum Constantinus [calvus filius Culeni] necatur." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Rex Constantinus, Culeno filius ortus,
Ad caput amnis Aven ense peremptus erat,
In Tegalere; regens uno rex et semis annis,
Ipsum Kinedus Malcolonida ferit."
Chro. ele.

Girgh Mac-Kinat Mac-Duff octo annis [regnavit].*

DCCCCXCVI. Killed by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, in Rathveramoen, and interred in Iona.

Grig, the son of Kenneth, the son of Duf, reigned 8 years.

As *Kenneth Mac Malcolm* died 18 months before the death of Constantin his name seems to be put by mistake, both in the text and the elegiac Chronicle, for that of *Malcolm Mac Kenneth.* See under 1004.

* *Nomina regum*, &c. "Chinet fil. Duf uno an. et dimid." *Cro. regum*, &c. "Agus a ceathair Macduiph" (*i. e.* and four Macduff). *Duan.* "1004. A battle between Scots at Monedir, where the king of Scotland, Cinaoh Mac-Duiv, was slain." *An. Ul.* "Anno M.III. Rex Scottorum Grim [sive, ut ad an. 995, Kinedus filius Duff] necatur." *Chro. de Mailros.*

"Annorum spatio rex Grim regnaverat octo,
Kinedi natus qui genitus Duf erat.
Quo truncatus erat Bardorum campus habetur,
A nato Kined nomine Malcolomi."
Chro. elegi.

It appears, likewise, from O'Flaherty (p. 488), that the proper name of *Grim*, or *Macduff*, was *Kenneth.*

MIV. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moghananard. Sepultus in Iona insula.

Malcolm Mac-Kinath, rex victoriosissimus, triginta annis [regnavit].*

MIV. Killed, by the son of Kenneth, in Moghananard. Interred in the island Iona.

Malcolm the son of Kenneth, a most victorious king, reigned 30 years.

MV. Battle between Scotsmen and Saxons, where Scotsmen were discomfitted, with a great slaughter of their good men.

MXVIII. Ingens bellum apud Carrum gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymbrorum, et Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottoruum. Cum quo fuit

* *Nomina regum*, &c. "Malcolm fil. Kinet XXX." *Cro. regum*, &c. "Triocha bliadhain Ba righ Maolcholaim" (*i. e.* thirty years was king Malcolm). *Duan.*

in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Lutinensium [l. Clutinensium].*

* Simeon Dunel. co. 177. "Hic [Malcolm] magnum bellum fecit apud Carrum.† Ipse etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesiis quam iliso ea die distribuit." *Cro. regum.* It appears from the Saxon chronicle that Uchtred was killed in 1016. "Anno ab incarnatione domini DCCCC. lxix. regnante rege Anglorum Ethelredo, Malcolmus rex Scottorum filius Kynedi regis congregato totius Scotiæ exercitu provinciam Northanimbrorum cædibus et incendibus devastans, Dunelmum obsidione circumdedit. Quo tempore Alduno episcopatum ibidem regente, Waltheof qui comes fuerat Northanimbrorum sese in Bebbanbuc incluserat ... Cujus filio, scilicet Ucthredo, magnæ strenuitatis juveni et militi aptissimo filiam suam nomine Ecgfridam Aldunus episcopus dederat uxorem ... Videns juvenis præfatus terrorem ab hostibus devastatam, et Dunelmum obsidione circumdatam, et contra hoc patrem suum nihil agere, adunato exercitu Northimbrorum et Eboracensium non parva manu, Scottorum multitudinem pene totam interfecit ipso rege vix perfugam cum paucis evadente. Interfectorum vero capita elegantiora crinibus, sicut tunc temporis mos erat, perplexis fecit Dunelmum transportari, eaque à quatuor mulieribus perlata per circuitum murorum in stipitibus præfigis mulieribus autem quæ ea laverant mercedem dederant vaccas singulis singulas. His auditis, rex Ethelredus vocato ad se juvene præfato, vivente adhuc patre Waltheof, pro merito suæ strenuitatis et bello quod tam viriliter peregerat, dedit ei comitatum patris sui, adjungens etiam Eboracensium comitatum." S. Dunel. co. 80. If there be a word of truth in this relation, certainly the date is not merely

† "Carrum *hodie* Werk." It is not *Wark*, but to the west of it.

Quo [Ucthredo] occiso [per regem Cnut], frater ipsius Eadulf cognomento Cudel, ignavus valde et timidus, ei successit in comitatum. Timens autem ne Scotti mortem suorum quos frater ejus, ut supradictum est, occiderat, in se vindicarent totum Lodoneium, ob satisfactionem et firmam concordiam eis donavit. Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum.*

MXVIII. A great battle was fought, at Carham, between the Scots and the English, between the son of Waltheof earl of the Northumbrians, and Malcolm the son of Kenneth, king of the Scots: with whom in battle was Owen the bald king of the Clutinians (*i. e.* Strath-Clyde-Britons?)

Which Uchtred being slain by king Cnut, his brother Eadulf surnamed Cudel, very slothful and timid, succeeded him in the county. But, fearing lest the Scots should revenge upon him the death of those whom his brother, as is above said, had slain, gave all Lothian, for satisfaction and firm

false but absolutely impossible, as Etheldred did not ascend the throne before 978, nor Malcolm before 1001. These particulars also are mentioned by no other writer.

* S. Dunel, co. 81. See before under 970.

concord. In this manner was Lothian added to the kingdom of the Scots.

MXX. Finlogh Mac Roary, king of Scotland, a suis occisus.*

MXXXII. Cnuto decimo quinto anno regni sui Romam profectus est. Ibi aliquantis diebus commoratus, navigio Angliam rediit. Et mox Scotiam rebellantem, regemque Malcolmum, expeditione illuc ducta, parvo subegit negotio.†

* *An. Ul.* This Finlogh, or Finleg, was the father of Macbeth. "*King of Scotland*," can only mean prince or ruler of some part of it: probably *Murray*. Torfæus, from an old saga, calls him *Scottorum comes Finnleicus*. (Orcades, p. 27.) *Roary* is a contraction or diminutive of *Roderick*. He is called in the original MS. at Oxford, "Finloec Mac Ruaidri, ri Alban."

† W. Malmes. L. 2, c. 11. "An. MXXXI. Her for Cnut cyng to Rome. & thy ylcan geare tha hi ham com he for to Scotlande. & Scotta cyng him to beah Mælcolm. & twegen othre cyningas. Mælbæthe & Iehmarc." (*i. e.* In this year Cnut the king went to Rome; and in the same year, in which he came home, he went to Scotland, and the Scotish king

MXXXII. Cnut, in the fifteenth year of his reign, went to Rome. Having stayed there some days, he returned in a ship to England: and presently, with little trouble, subdued Scotland, being in rebellion, and its king Malcolm, in an expedition conducted thither.

Gilcomgan MacMaolbryde, murmor of Murebe, burnt with 50 men about him.*

MXXXIII. The son of Mac Boete Mac Cinaoh killed by Maolcolum Mac Cinaoh.†

MXXXIV. Malcolm rex Scottorum obiit.‡

Malcolm, was subject to him, and two other kings Maolbeth and Jehmarc). *Chro. Sax.* This Mælbæthe, or Maolbeth, was, in all probability, the famous usurper Macbeth, whose father Finlogh was slain in 1020. Caradoc, however, says they were kings of the *Orkneys* and *Ewist.*

* *An. Ul.* Mr. Pinkerton, by either negligence or design, omits the words *Gilcomgan Mac.*

† *An. Ul.* Unless this be a repetition, or different statement, of the death of Gillcomgain, burnt in the preceding year, the person intended must have been his brother. *Maolbryd* himself was *Mac Boet* (or *Bodhe*).

‡ Simeon Dunel. co. 178. He adds, by mistake, " cui

Donchath Mac-Trini [l. Mac-Crini] abbatis de Machethad successit."—" Mortuus in Glamis, et sepultus in Iona insula." *Nomina regum*, &c. "Anno 1034, Malcolmus filius Kinethi, supremum ordinum, Albaniæ caput, obiit." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 488). "1034, Malcolm Mac Cinaoh, king of Scotland, died." *An. Ul.* "Anno M.XXXIV. Obiit Malcolmus rex Scottorum." *Chro. de Mailros.*

" In vico Glannis rapuit mors libera regem,
Sub pede prostratis hostibus ille perit.
Abbatis Crini, jam dicti filia regis,
Uxor erat Bethoc nomine digna sibi."
Chro. elegia.

According to general Vallancey, an old anonymous manuscript, which he had seen, " mentions that a daughter of Brian Borumh, monarch of Ireland [slain in 1014] was married to [this] Malcolm the Second, son of Kinneth, king of Scotland." *Collectanea*, I. 547.

Bethoc (or *Beathach*, O'Flaherty, p. 488) appears to have been the only child of Malcolm. Fordun, probably without any good reason, says that " Crynyne. *abbas de* Dul," which he had found in certain annals, should be " *Abthanus de* Dul," which he derives from *abba*, *pater*, &c. " But who," exclaims Pinkerton, " ever heard of an *abthane?*" (*Enquiry*, II, 193.) " The nature and antiquity of this office," observes the ingenious and accurate D. Macpherson, " is unknown to me; but that there was such an office, and that it remained for ages after this time is unquestionable. David II. granted to Donald Macnayre the lands of Easter-Fossacke with the *Abthansie of Dull* in Perthshire [Roll D. 2. K. 21. in *MS. Harl.* 4069.] The baillierie of *Abthane of Dull*, and the lands of the *Abthane of Kinghorn*, occur in other grants in the same MS. in Roll D. 2. F." See also Robertson's *Index of charters*, p. 46, 53, 90.

Dunkeld et Bethoc filiæ Malcolm Mac-Kinat sex annis [regnavit].*

MXXXIV. Malcolm king of Scots died.

Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld and of Bethoc daughter of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, reigned six years.

MXXXV. Dunecanus rex Scottorum, cum immensis copiis adveniens, Dunelmum obsedit, et ad eam expugnandam multum quidem sed frustra laboravit. Nam magna parte equitum suorum ab his qui obsidebantur interfecta, confusus aufugit, fugiens pedites omnes interfectos amisit, quorum capita in forum collata, in stipitibus sunt suspensa.†

MXXXV. Duncan, king of the Scots, coming with immense forces, besieged Durham, and to

* *Nomina regum*, &c. "Se bliadhna Donnchadh ghlain gooith" (*i. e.* Six years Duncan of clean breath). *Duan.* He is omitted in the *Cronica regum.*

† S. Dunel. co. 33.

take it laboured much, indeed, but in vain. For, a great part of his horsemen being slain by those who were besieged, he, in confusion, fled, and, flying, lost all his foot, who were slain, whose heads being brought into the market-place, were suspended upon stakes.

MXL. Interfectus a Macbeth Mac-Finleg in Bothgonanan, et sepultus in Iona.*

* *Nomina regum, &c.* "Anno 1040, Donchadh mac Crinan supremus Albaniæ rex immatura ætate a suis occisus est." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 488). "1040. Doncha Mac Crinan, king of Scotland, a suis occisus." *An. Ul.* "Anno MXXXIX. Obiit Dunecanus rex Scottorum." *Chro. de Mailros.* Simeon of Durham, having related the siege of that city by Duncan, in 1035, adds, "Nec multo post ipse rex, cum jam in Scotiam redïisset, à suis occisus, interiit." Co. 33.

"Ex illa[1] genuit[2] Duncanum nomine natum
Qui senis annis rex erat Albaniæ.
A Finleg natus percussit eum Macabeda,
Vulnere lethali, rex apud Elgin obit."
Chro. elegiacum.

King Donald-bane, the younger son of Duncan, had also a daughter named Bethok (Fœdera, II, 577); and mr Pinkerton quotes a charter of K. William, to the canons of Jedburgh, engraven at Edinburgh 1771, which contains the words,

[1] Bethoc. [2] Crinan.

Macbeth Mac-Finleg septemdecim annis [regnavit.]*

"Ex dono Radulfi fil. Dunegani et uxoris ejus *Bethoc*." (*Enquiry*, II, 192).

* *Ibi.* "Macbeth *fil.* Findleg xvii *an.*" *Cro. regum*, &c. "Seachtmbliadna deg mac Fionlaoich" (*i. e.* Seventeen years the son of Finleg.) *Duan.* Tigernach, as cited by O'Flaherty, calls him "Macbeothadgh mac Finnlaoich," (p. 498.) It is doubtful whether he were named after his mother, or grandmother, Bethoc, or Beathach, or from some Irish saint, according to the fashion of those times.† *Macbeth*, however,

† It was, by no means, uncommon, in, and long before, the age of this usurper, for a son to be called after his mother, or, even, his grandmother: thus Fergus, the son of Erc, is surnamed *Mac-Mise;* and another Fergus was sometimes called *Mac-Roigh.* See MacCurtins *Vindication*, p. 158. Domangart, son and successor to the first of those Ferguses, is, in one of the Clarendon MSS. in the Museum (Ayscoughs *Catalogue*, Num. 4791, fo. 84), called "Domangart Mac Nisse *rex Scotiæ;*" apparently from the name of his grandmother. In Num. 4793, fo. 31, he is "Domangart *Mac Niesi.*" In Wares *Antiquitates Hiberniæ*, 1654, 8vo. p. 36, we have an "Ænguss Mac Nise, cujus cognomento à matre tractum;" and Muriertac, or Murdac, king of Ireland, who died in 534, was also (as we learn from the same authority) named *Mac-Erca*, after his mother. Bethoc, or *Beathach*, seems the same name with *Beatha*, or *Beothadgh;* and we, likewise, find, among the fables of Geoffrey Keating "Eana son of *Baath*," and Jobhath "son of *Beothach*," (p. 50). The names of *Macbride*, *Maolbride*, *Mæl Patrick*, *Maol-choluim*, *Gillcomgain*, &c. are all from Irish saints; and there actually was one who may very probably have furnished that of *Macbeth:* St. *Boecius* (*Beod*, or *Boet*, in Irish), who died in 513, and whose day is the 7th of December. *Beodus* or *Boetius* was, likewise, the father of St. Kieran. Usher, p. 526. The son of Kenneth, we find, was called *Bodhe*, and *Maolbryd*, his son, *Mac Boete*, which

MXL. Slain by Macbeth, the son of Finleg, in Bothgonanan, and interred in Iona.

Macbeth, the son of Finleg, reigned seventeen years.

MXLV. A battle between the Scots themselves, where fell Cronan [r. Crinan] abbot of Duncaillen.*

ML. Rex Scotiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit.†

was a common Irish name before he was born. See *Chro. Sax.* ad an. 891. In a charter also of Alexander I. we find "Beth *comes*" (Dalrymples *Collections*, p. 373). *Mælbeth* is, apparently, the same or a similar name.

* *An. Ul.* See before.

† Marianus; S. Dunel. R. de Hoveden, Flo. Wigor. *Chro. de Mailros.* Lord Hailes, who did not know that this fact was mentioned by Marianus, or any writer, in short, but Florence of Worcester, ridicules the idea of Macbeths going to

may be the same name with that of *Macbeth*, who might be so called out of compliment to *Bodhe* or *Maolbryd*, the father and brother, as it came to pass, of his wife *Gruoch*. A nobleman, however, named *Macocbeth*, or *Mackbeth*, is a witness in two charters of king David I.

ML. Macbeth king of Scotland distributed silver at Rome, by throwing it about.

MLII. Osbernus cognomento Pentecoste, et socius ejus Hugo, sua reddiderunt castella, et comitis Leofrici licentia per suum comitatum Scotiam adeuntes à rege Scottorum Macbeotha suscepti sunt.

MLII. Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his associate Hugh, gave up their castles, and, by leave of earl Leofric, going through his country into Scotland, were received (*i. e.* taken into pay) by Macbeth, king of the Scots.

Rome; and pretends the original only insinuates that he *bribed* the court there. A journey to Rome, however, was so little extraordinary for a monarch in that age, that we find Canute the Great taking it in 1031, and Dunwallo, the little king of Strath-Clyde, died there in 974: beside other instances adduced by mr. Pinkerton. This anecdote, at the same time, is remarkable as the only instance of liberality in a Scotish monarch; very few of Macbeths successors having ever had any money to distribute.

MLIV. Strenuus dux Northymbrorum Siwardus jussu regis Eadwardi, et equestri exercitu et classe valida Scottiam adiit, et cum rege Scottorum Macbeotha prælium commisit, ac multis millibus Scottorum et Normannis omnibus quorum supra mentionem fecimus occisis, illum fugavit, et Malcolmum regis Cumbrorum filium, ut rex jusserat, regem constituit. In eo tamen prælio, suus filius et multi Anglorum et Danorum ceciderunt.*

* S. Dunel. Co. 187; R. de Hoveden, p. 443; and Flo. Wigor. p. 629. "Sanctus Edwardus filius Ethelredi . . . quamvis vel reges vel simplex putaretur, habebat comites, qui eum ex humili in altum conantem erigerent: Siwardum Northanimbrensium, qui ejus jussu cum Scottorum rege Macbetha congressus vita regnoque spoliavit, ibidemque Malcolmum filium regis Cumbrorum regem instituit." W. Malmes. L. 2, c. 13. This engagement is thus recorded in the Ulster annals: "1054. A battle between Scots and Saxons, where 3000 of Scots, and 1500 of Saxons, were slain, with Dolfin Mac Finlor." Simeon, it is observable, does not say that Macbeth was slain in this battle. Siward, according to that historian, as well as to the Saxon chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Roger de Hoveden, and the chronicle of Mailros, died in 1055; Ralph de Diceto alone says 1058. Duncan, the father of Malcolm, is presumed to have been king of Cumberland in the lifetime of his grandfather. *Dolfin Mac Finlor* is, probably, the *Dolfinus filius Torfini*, father-in-law to Cospatrick, mentioned by Simeon of Durham (Co. 80); and Finlor, of course, a mistake for *Fintor*, or *Torfin*.

MLIV. Siward, the valiant duke (or general) of the Northumbrians, by the command of king Edward, with both an army of horse, and a powerful fleet, went into Scotland, and fought a battle with Macbeth, king of Scots, and many thousand of the Scots, and all the Normans, of whom we have above made mention, being killed, put him to flight, and constituted king Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, as the king had commanded. In that battle, however, his son and many of the English and Danes fell.

MLVII. Interfectus in Lunfanen à Malcolm Mac-Donchat et sepultus in Iona.*

* *Nomina regum, &c.* "Anno 1058 . . . Macbeothadgh mac Finnlaoic supremus Albaniæ rex à Malcolmo filio Donnchadi trucidatus est:" So Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 498); but, according to the *Annales Ultonienses*, under the same year, "Magbethai Mac Finloich, archking of Scotland, [was] killed by Melsechlin Mac Doncha [another son, it is presumed, of king Duncan], in battle." The *chronicon elegiacum* says of him,

"Rex Macabeda decem Scotiæ septemque fit annis,
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat.
Hunc tamen in Lufnant truncavit morte crudeli
Duncani natus nomine Malcolmus."

Lulach fatuus quatuor mensibus [regnavit].*

MLVII. Slain in Lunfanan, by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, and interred in Iona.

Lulach, the foolish, reigned four months.

As Lulach, his successor, reigned four months and a half, and was slain the 1st of January 1058, Macbeth must have been killed about the 15th of August 1057, and not, as lord Hailes asserts, upon the testimony of Fordun, on the 15th of December 1056. Mr. Pinkerton absurdly strives to prove *Malcolm* (*Maol-Choluim*, the servant or devotee of St. Columba) a *Pikish*, and *Macbeth* (the son of *Beth*), a *Gothic* name.

* *Nomina regum, &c.* "Lulach nepos filii Boide iv mensibus et dimidio." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Seach mbliadhna ibhhlaitheas Lulaigh" (*i. e.* Seven years [r. months] in power Lulach). *Duan.* "Dulach [r. Lulach] quatuor menses et dimidium regnavit." *Chro. de Mailros.* "Anno 1058 (Kalendis Januarii in feriam 5 incidentibus [*i. e.* Thursday, the 1st of January; the Sunday letter being D]), Lulachus Albaniæ rex à Malcolmo filio Donchadi occisus." Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 493). "1058. Lulach Mac Gillcomgain, archking of Scotland, killed by Maolcolumb Mac Duncha in battle." *An. Ul.*

"Mensibus infelix Lulach tribus extiterat rex:
Armis ejusdem Malcolomi cecidit.
Fata viri fuerant in Strathbolgin, apud Esseg:
Heu sic incaute rex miser occubuit!"

Chro. elegiacum.

MLVIII. Interfectus est in Essei in Strathbolgi, et sepultus in Iona.*

MLVIII. He was slain in Essei, in Strathbolgi, and interred in Iona.

If the above dates be correct, which is highly probable, it would seem that both Macbeth, and Lulach, his successor, had kept possession of some (most likely the northern) parts of the kingdom, for two or three years after the invasion of Malcolm, and the defeat of the former by Siward.

Lulach had a son, named Maolsnechta, who was king, or earl, of Murray, and slain in 1085. He had, likewise, a daughter, the mother of Angus, or Æneas, earl of Murray, slain at Strucathrow, in 1130. (See *An. Ul. Chro. de Mailros*, *Chro. S. Crucis*, Fordun, L. 5, C. 33.) Macbeth had no issue: though a certain editor of Shakspeare asserts, and quotes as his authority, "Fordun. *Scoti-Chron.* L. V. c. viii" (where no such thing is to be found), that "Macbeth *had* a *son* alive."

* *Nomina regum, &c.*

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE SCOTISH KINGS.

496. Fergus I., son of Erc.
499. Domangart, son of Fergus.
504. Congal, son of Domangart.
538. Gavran, son of Domangart.
560. Conal I., son of Congal.
574. Aidan, son of Gavran.
608. Eochy I., surnamed Buide (or the yellow), son of Aidan.
629. Conad, surnamed Kerr, son of Conal.
. . . Farquhar, son of E.
. . . Donald I., surnamed Brek (or the spotted), son of Eochy-Buide.
642. Malduin, son of Donald-Duin.
. . . Donald-Brek.
. . . Farquhar, surnamed Fada (or the long).
697. Eochy II., surnamed Dinnavel (or Hook-nose), son of Domangart, son of Donald-Brek.

697. Armchellac, son of Farquhar-Fada.
. . . Selvach.
7 . . Ewen I., son of Farquhar-Fada.
. . . Eochy III., son of Eochy.
733. Murchard, son of Armchellac.
736. Ewen II., son of Murchard.
748. Ed-fin (or Hugh the white), son of Eochy-Hook-nose.
778. Fergus II., son of Hugh.
781. Conal II.
783. Conal III.
7 . . Doncorcai.
792. Constantine I.
801. Angus.
810. Ed-ain, or Hugh (surnamed the musical).
814. Eochy IV., surnamed Annuine (or the poisonous).
827. Dungall, son of Eochy-annuine.
834. Alpin, son of Eochy-annuine.
841. Kenneth, son of Alpin.
858. Donald II., son of Alpin.
862. Constantine II., son of Kenneth.
882. Hugh, son of Kenneth.
883. Grig, son of Dungall.
894. Donald III., son of Constantine.
904. Constantine III., son of Hugh.
944. Malcolm I., son of Donald.

955. Indulf, son of Constantine.
961. Duf, son of Malcolm.
965. Culen-rig, son of Indulf.
970. Kenneth, son of Malcolm.
1004. Malcolm II.
1034. Duncan, son of Crinan, by Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm.
1040. Macbeth, son of Finleg.
1057. Lulach, son of Gilcomgain.
1058. Malcolm III., son of Duncan.

*** It must be admitted that there is some difficulty in the origin and antemonarchical history of Malcolm III. The old Scotish lists, the Elegiac chronicle, and the Irish annals, uniformly agree that he was the son of Duncan; who had, likewise, another son, Donald-bane, afterward king of Scotland. To this Malcolm, says Wyntown, the father, as soon as he was crowned, gave the region of Cumberland; of which, it is to be presumed, as, in fact, it is asserted by the same writer, he had himself been king: but still it is altogether unaccountable that the old English historians should uniformly call Malcolm the son of the king of the CUMBRIANS, and never once, the son of the king of the SCOTS, nor ever once mention his name. Upon the supposition that Duncan had been actually king of Cumberland, before his accession to the Scotish throne,

they may be permitted to mean, that this Malcolm was the son of one who had been formerly king of the Cumbrians; but a similar instance of such obscurity is nowhere to be met with. That, however, he really was the son of Duncan, is manifest from his age; for supposing him to have been 20, at the death of his father, in 1037, he was only 56 at the time of his own, in 1093. Upon the usurpation of Macbeth, according to Fordun, Malcolm, who should have succeeded, fled into Cumberland, and his brother Donald into the isles. Afterward, he says, Malcolm, by the advice of, and in company with, Siward, went to the court of king Edward, to obtain his friendship and promised assistance; where he resided about fourteen years: a circumstance never mentioned by any more ancient or authentic English historian. Andrew of Wyntown, however, says that the TWO legitimate sons of Duncan fled on this occasion; and that Malcolm, a BASTARD, "noucht gottyn of lauchful bed," the THIRD son, passed to saint Edward in England. Of his birth he gives a very particular account. The king often resorted to the house of a miller, who had a fair daughter, whom he took for his concubine:

> "In-to bede wyth hyr he lay,
> And gat on hyr a sowne or day
> That wes Malcolme, of Scotland,
> Thare-eftyre crownyd kyng regnand."

That Duncan had three sons, if not more, is confirmed by an extract from the *Scala chronica:* "Malcolin," says the author, "causid *one* of his brothers to be behedid, and put out the eyes of *another* of his *brethern,* and kept hym in Gedworth-castel yn pryson, fering lest they should put him from his kingdom. He that was blynd got a mayd childe of a launder, that wold never leve ontyl he had maried her. This doughter was after given, with landes, yn mariage, by Malcoline onto a sunne of the countie Comyn of Fraunce, the which young Comyn, at that tyme, duellid with king Malcoline." (Lelands *Collectanea,* I. 529.) According to the *Nomina regum,* Donald was taken by his nephew Edgar (after 1098), deprived of sight,* and died in Roscoepin.

* According to Ordericus Vitalis, king David, (youngest son of Malcolm,) had a son older than Henry. A certain person, in holy orders, murdered a priest, while officiating at the altar. In consequence of ecclesiastical immunity, his life was spared. His eyes, however, were put out, his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons, or hooks, to supply the use of hands. Thus destitute, maimed, and abhorred, he attracted the compassion of David, who then resided in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David had a son two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretence of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime he was torn to pieces by wild horses. (B. 8, p. 702.)

Mr. Pinkerton, indeed, says, that "Duncan, father of Malcolm, was married to a *daughter* (more likely a *sister*) of Siward, AS ALL AGREE," (*Enquiry*, II. 204). Fordun, however, that "gross forger and falsificator," is the ONLY ancient writer who mentions such a marriage, and, according to him, the lady was neither *daughter* nor *sister* of Siward. He also strives to prove that Duncan, king of Cumberland, father of Malcolm-Canmore, was himself the son of Duncan king of Scotland: an idle and brain-sick whim, to which no author, ancient or modern, affords the slightest countenance.

Annals of Strath-Clyde.

INTRODUCTION.

THE kingdom of Cambria, Cumbria, Stratclud, Strath-Cluyd, or Strath-Clyde,* in the west of modern Scotland, appears to have consisted of the territory at present included in the shires of Renfrew, Kyle, Cuningham, and the sheriffdoms of

* *Strath*, in British, signifies a *valley*; so that Strath-Clyde is synonymous with Clydes-dale, or Clydes-vale. It is, likewise, called, in the *Cronica Pictorum*, *Britannia*, and by the Welsh writers, (according to mr. D. Macpherson) REGED SCOTIA; as the inhabitants are, by the Saxon, or other ancient historians, Stræ-cled-wealds, Strat-clud-wallani, Stretgled-wali, Stretclutcenses, Britones, Britones-Albaniæ, Walenses, and Bretti, or Brets. Lhuyd, however, complains that the Welsh are at a loss now for the modern name of *Reged* (Irish preface); which no one, who is any way acquainted with those sagacious antiquaries, will be at all surprised at.

Lanerk, Dunbarton, and Stirling. The capita of this little kingdom is called, by Bede, Alcluith (Ad Cludam), and described as a "*civitas Brittonum munitissima,*" which, in their language, he elsewhere says, signifies "Petram" (*i. e.* rupem), Cluyth, or Clyde, being near the river of that name (B. I, c. 1, 12). It is called, likewise, by Adomnan, Petra-Cloithe, and, by other ancient writers, Arecluta, Alcwith, Aldclyhit, and Alcluth; all implying a rock, or elevation, upon the Clyde, now Dunbarton, a corruption of Dunbritton. The foundation of the monarchy cannot be ascertained. If, however, we may credit the life of saint Ninian (written in the twelfth century), it existed so early as the fourth; whence it can be traced, with sufficient certainty, down to nearly the close, at least, of the tenth.

According to Richard of Cirencester, the Attacoti inhabited the banks of the Clyde, a nation, sometimes, formerly terrible to all Britain: a very great lake, he says, is here seen, the name of which was, formerly, Lyncalidor, at the mouth whereof Alcluith, a city built by the Romans, in a short time, had this name [VALENTIA, or VALENTIANA] by lot, from the general Theodosius, who had recovered the province, possessed by the barbarians; with this none could be compared, as

that which, after the other circumjacent provinces were lost, resisted the government of the enemy. But not so long, he adds, the Romans held it, under the eagle, at their pleasure, that its names and subjection became known to posterity.*

* B. I, c. 6. § 49, 50. Theodosius was here in the year 361. The Roman name of the people was Damnii; being bounded, it would seem, from the words of Joceline, toward the north by the Roman wall, between the Forth and the Clyde, originally erected by the emperor Antoninus Pius, and repaired by Ætius.

Lhuyd, in his catalogue of British MSS. (*Archæologia* p. 258, co. 2,) registers a work intitled "Kyvoese Myrdhyn a Guendhydh i chuaer:" *i. e.* The synchronism of Merlin and his sister Gwendidia; or, a dialogue of the future princes of Cumbria: by an unknown author; who appears to have written about the year 948, not, truly, concerning the future, but the past (as he, expressly, designs them): in the red book of Hergest. This book, if genuine, and capable of translation, promises to afford information of a curious and interesting nature. It is, likewise, inserted in the *Myrvyrian archaiology of Wales* (I. 138).

John of Tinmouth, in his life of saint Petroc, calls him "B. Petrocus, natione Cumber, ex regali ortus prosapia." Ushers *Antiquitates*, 292. If the name *Petrocus* have been formed from *Petra* [*cluithe*], it may fix his birth to *Alcluyd*; but, in fact, it is very uncertain whether the *Cumbria*, or Cumberland, south of the river Esk, or Solway-firth, was, in the sixth century, included within the kingdom of *Cambria*, *Cumbria*, or *Strath-Clyde*.

The inhabitants, no doubt, were, for the most part, the remains of the ancient British, who, driven from the north and east by their indefatigable and victorious enemies, the Scots and Picts, in this corner, either by their own valour, or the natural defences of the country, were able to protect themselves for the space of six hundred years.

ANNALS OF STRATH-CLYDE.

ANNALES STRATCLUDENSES.

CCCXC. In insula, quæ quondam à Bruto, ut dicitur, Britanniæ nomen accepit, in ipsius nominis gente, haud ignobili familia, beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus; in ea, ut putatur, regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insulæ partibus (ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit) constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundarum quoque memoria comprobatur.*

Ninianus in opus quo fuerat demissus a spiritu, duce Christo, festinavit. Quo in patriâ recepto, sit magnus populorum concursus, et occursus, ingens cunctis lætitia, mira devotio, laus ubique re-

* *Vita Niniani, autore Ethelredo Rievalensi* (*Vitæ antiquæ SS. Scotiæ*), c. 1. He professes to make use of a "*liber de vita et miraculis ejus, barbario scriptus*," probably the one, in Irish, quoted by Usher. Since, however, he mentions *Brutus*, and, consequently, must have been familiar with Geoffrey of Monmouth, the author can scarcely be St. Ethelred, unless very late in life.

sonat Christi: quidam sicut prophetam eum habebant. Mox strenuus agricola domini sui agrum ingressus, cepit male plantata evellere, male collecta dispergere, male ædificata destruere. Purgatis deinde ob [l. ab] omni errore fidelium mentibus, cepit in eis sinceræ fidei jacere fundamenta; superædificans aurum sapientiæ, et scientiæ argumentum, bonorumque operum lapides; quæ omnia fidelibus agenda, et verbo docuit, et exemplo monstravit, cum multis et magnis miraculis confirmavit.*

Elegit autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna dicitur; qui locus super litus oceani situs, dum seipsum mare longius porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur; a parte tamen aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus tantum apperitur. Ibi igitur jussu viri dei cementarii, quos secum adduxerat, ecclesiam construunt; antequam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam. Et jam quidem sanctissimum Martinum, quem miro semper venerabatur affectu, a terris ad coelos didiscerat transmigrasse, ipsam ecclesiam in ejus honore studuit dedicare.†

Fuit in regione eadem rex quidam (nam tota insula diversis regibus divisa subjacuit), Tuduvallus nomine, quem divitiæ, potestas, et honor erexerant

* *Vita Niniani, &c.* c. 2. † *Ibi.* c. 3.

in superbiam ; quem concupiscentia carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et divitiæ mundi, elacionis suæ et superbiæ incentivum ; dum quantum quisque habet tantum se posse presumit, tantum sibi et licere confidit. Hic viri dei monita contemnens, et clam doctrinæ ejus, et moribus ejus derogabat, et sanæ doctrinæ ejus in facie resistebat : ita ut terra videretur reproba et maledicto proxima, utpote quæ semper super se venientem bibens imbrem, spinas et tribulos, non herbam opportunam, germinabat. Quodam autem tempore cum plus solito molestus esset viro dei, non ultra passus judex coelestis servi sui inultam ire injuriam, intolerabili morbo superbum percussit in capite, confregitque verticem capilli perambulantis in delictis suis. Tantumque prævaluit ægritudo, ut elatos oculos cæcitas repentina obduceret ; et qui lucem impugnaverat veritatis, lucem amitteret carnis ; nec frustra neque ad insipientiam ei. Jacebat enim miser pressus dolore, privatus lumine, sed externis obtenebratus, internis illustratus, dum rediens ad cor confitetur excessum, ab illo sperans remedium, cui se semper exhibuerat inimicum. Vocatis postremo amicis, accepto ab eis consilio, quoniam ipse detentus infirmitate ire non potuit, nuncios mittit ad virum dei, obsecrans ut non intret in judicium cum servo suo, nec retribuat ei secundum opera sua ;

sed, ut imitator divinæ benignitatis, retribueret ei bona pro malis, et dilectionem pro odio. Audiens hæc vir beatissimus, ... premissa ad dominum oratione, ad ægrotum cum summa humanitate et devotione perrexit: et primum quidem leni increpatione virum corripit, deinde medica manu caput tangit ægroti, cæcisque luminibus signum vitæ salutaris impressit. Quid plura? Fugit dolor, cæcitas luce superveniente fugatur. Sicque factum est, ut morbus corporis morbum animi curaret, morbum verò corporis viri dei virtus expelleret. In utroque igitur, corpore scilicet et mente, sanatus, cœpit deinceps sanctum dei omni affectu colère et venerari, sciens expertus quod dominus erat cum eo, et omnia opera ejus dirigebat, præstans ei virtutem super omnem hominem extollentem se adversus scientiam Christi, cum impromptu haberet ulcisci omnem inobedientiam et injuriam illatam famulis Christi.*

* *Vita Niniani, &c.* C. 4. It is not expressly said that this Tuduvallus, or Tudwal, was a pagan; he appears, rather, to have been an irreligious, or immoral, though believing christian. The Britons are asserted by Gildas to have received the light of religion in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, that is, before the year 37, and, by Bede, at the desire of king Lucius, in 150: both eras being, probably, erroneous; but the fact, that they were christians so early, at least, as the fourth century, cannot, possibly be disputed: We cannot, certainly, infer, from this life, that

ANNALS OF STRATH-CLYDE.

CCCXC. In the island, which formerly, from Brutus, as it is said, received the name of Britain,

there were any Picts in Galloway, at this period. Ninian, as will be elsewhere seen, goes from Whithern into the country of the Southern Picts to convert that idolatrous people. (*An. of the Picts*, 394.) "That Whithern," as mr. Pinkerton asserts, "was the see erected by Ninian over the Piks [Picts] he converted," is a childish and ridiculous error. "Aildred," he adds, "tells us that it was his proper British see, long before he went to convert the South Piks, who lived, as Beda shews, south of the Grampian hills, or in Fifeshire, &c." (*Enquiry*, I, 74.) He elsewhere says, that "The southern Piks, between the Forth and the Grampian hills, or of present Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton, Perth, Angus and Mearns, by far the most populous tract of Pikland, were converted to christianity by St. Ninian, about 412, as Bede shews." (I, 256; see, also, II, 266; and Usher, p. 350.)

"There is extant," says Usher, "among our Irish, a life of the same Ninian: in which, by reason of the importunate and frequent visitation, as well from his mother, as from his relations, Whithern being deserted, that, to him and his quiet, with his disciples, he might be at leisure to study, is reported to have sought Ireland, and there, a place suitable and pleasant being obtained from the king, called Cluayn-coner, to have builded a great monastery; and there, after many years passed, to have died. To have had, also, a brother, saint Plebeia by name, as we read in his life by John of Tinmouth." (*Antiquitates*, p. 506.) Ninian, according to Bale,

in the nation of the same name, of no ignoble family, the blessed Ninian was born; in that region, as it is thought, which, placed in the western parts of the same island (where the ocean as an arm stretching forth, and of either part making, as it were, two angles, now divides the kingdoms of the Scots and the English), until the latest times of the English is proved to have had its proper king, not only by the faith of historians, but also by the memory of certain persons.

died in 432, under Theodosius the younger. Alcuin, about 780, in a letter to the brethren of Whithern, mentions a metrical life of this saint, which had been sent him from York. (W. Malmes. p. 272.) It is unfortunately lost. Bishops, in these times, seem to have resembled the methodist preachers of the present, much more than their successors who live in idleness and luxury, at the rate of fifteen or twenty thousand a-year. St. Ninian, it is probable, like his master, subsisted upon alms, or even by the produce of his own labour.

Saint Gildas, the author of a querulous treatise *De excidio Britanniæ*, is said, in his life, by an anonymous monk of Ruys, in Britany, about 1040, to have been born at Al-cluyd, or, as he calls it, in the most fertile region of Arecluta [A. C. 520]; his father, according to his other biographer, Carádoc of Llancarvan, a writer of the following century, called Nau, [r. Kau,] and being the king of Scotland, the most noble of the northern kings; meaning, it is presumed, that he was a king or prince of Strath-Clyde. The monk of Ruys, however, only calls the father "nobilissimus et catholicus vir," though he says that "Cuillus" (Hueil, *Carádoc*) "post mortem patris, ei in regno successit."

Ninian hastened about the work to which he had been sent by the spirit, under the command of Christ; and being received in his country, there was a great concourse, and running together of the people, much joy in all, wonderful devotion, the praise of Christ everywhere resounds: some took him for a prophet. Presently the strenuous husbandman entered the field of his lord, began to root up those things which were badly planted, to disperse those badly collected, and to destroy those badly built. The minds of the faithful being finally purged of all error, he began to lay in them the foundations of sincere faith; building upon the gold of wisdom, and the argument of knowledge, and the stones of good works; all which things to be done by the faithful he both taught by word, and shewed by example, and with many and great miracles confirmed.

Now he chose his seat in a place which is now called Whithern; which place, situate upon the shore of the ocean, while the sea stretches far from the east, west, and south, is inclosed by the sea itself; from the north part a way is opened for those only who are willing to enter. There, then, by the command of the man of god, the masons, whom he had brought with him, erect a church; before which they say there was none in Britain built of stone:

And having now learned that the most holy Martin, whom he always venerated with wonderful affection, had transmigrated from earth to heaven, he determined to dedicate the same church in his honour.

There was, in the same country, a certain king (for the whole island was divided among several kings), named Tudwal, whom riches, power, and honour, had exalted into pride; whom the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the riches of the world, the incentive of his elation and pride, whilst so much as any one has, so much he presumes himself able to do, so much, also, he trusts to be valued at. He, contemning the warnings of the man of god, and, secretly, of his doctrine, derogated from his morals, and resisted his wholesome doctrine to the face: so that the land seemed reprobate and next to a curse, inasmuch as, drinking the rain, always falling upon it, it grew thorns and brambles, not seasonable grass: At which time, when he more than usual molested the man of god, the celestial judge, no further suffering the injury of his servant to go unrevenged, smote him in the head, and bruised the hairy crown of him who walked in his offences. So much prevailed the sickness, that sudden blindness came over his lofty eyes; and he who had combatted the light of truth, lost the light of the flesh; neither in vain, nor to folly to him.

For the wretch lay oppressed with pain, deprived of sight, but, darkened in external things, enlightened in internal, while, returning to his heart, he confessed his error, hoping a remedy from him to whom he had always shewed himself an enemy.

Calling, last of all, his friends, and receiving from them advice, forasmuch as he, detained by infirmity, could not go, he sent messengers to the man of god, beseeching that he would not enter into judgement with his servant, nor recompense him according to his works; but, as imitator of the divine benignity, would reward him good for evil, and love for hatred. The most blessed man hearing these things, . . . having first said a prayer to the lord, went forward to the sick man with the greatest humanity and devotion: and, at first, truly, reproves him with a gentle check, then, with a healing hand, touches the head of the sick man, and impresses on his blind eyes the sign of life. Why more words? The pain fled, the blindness by returning light is banished: and so it was done, that the disease of the body should cure the disease of the mind, but the virtue of the man of god should expel the disease of the body. In each, therefore, to wit, in body and mind, being made whole, he began thereafter to worship and venerate the saint of god, with all affection, knowing, by

experience, that the lord was with him, and directed all his works, giving to him virtue over every man lifting himself up against the knowledge of Christ, and being ready to revenge all disobedience, and injury, offered to the servants of Christ.

DXL. Sanctus Kentegernus, in loco [qui tunc Cathures, nunc Glasghu, vocatur] degens . . . instinctu divino rex et clerus regionis Cambrensis, cum ceteris christianis, licet perpauci essent, in unum convenerunt; et de statu ecclesiæ reparandæ, quae jam pene deleta fuerat, tractantes, unanimi consensu accedentes ad sanctum Kentegernum, ipsum in pastorem et episcopum animarum suarum, licet plurimum retinentem, et plura objicientem, elegerunt . . . Imprecantes ergo ei prosperam, et in nomine sanctæ trinitatis benedicentes, et spiritui sanctificatori, . . . committentes, illum inthronizaverunt: accitoque uno episcopo de Hybernia, more Britonum et Scotorum, tunc temporis, in pontificem consecrari fecerunt. . . . Sanctus verò Kentegernus, quanquam hoc modo consecratus fuerit, correctioni omnimodæ hujus ritus, de qua postmodum dicemus, satisfecit. Cathedralem sedem suam in villa dicta Deschu, quod interpretatur cara familia,

quæ nunc vocatur Glaschu, constituit: et plurimam servorum dei continentium, et secundum formam primitivæ ecclesiæ sub apostolis, in proprietate, in disciplina sancta, et divino obsequio viventium, claram et caram deo familiam adunavit. Diocesis vero episcopatus illius secundum limites Cambrensis regni extendebatur: Quod utque regnum, sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe, à mari usque ad mare; postmodum auxilio et consilio legionis Romanorum, ob arcendam irruptionem Pictorum, in eodem loco murus habens in latitudine octo pedes, in altitudine duodecim pedes construebatur: et usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit; et Scotiam ab Anglia disterminando dividit.* Hæc autem regio Cambria, cui jam Kentegernus episcopali honore præfuit, quondam tempore Eleutherii papæ, principante rege Lucio, sicut et tota Britannia, fidem christianam susceperat; † sed paganis diversis temporibus insulam infestantibus, et in ea dominantibus, insulani susceptam fidem in apostasiam lapsi abjecerant.‡

* The wall of Severus is here, as in Nennius, confounded with that of Antoninus.

† In 156, according to Bede.

‡ *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 11. In chap. 9, we have an account of the sickness, death, and funeral, of a man of venerable life, named Fregus, who lived in a town called Kernach, near Glas-

DXL. Saint Kentegern dwelling in the place which was then Cathures, and is now called Glasgow . . . by divine instinct the king and clergy of the region of the country, with the rest of the christians, although they were very few, assembled together; and treating of the state of the church, to be repaired, which was now almost destroyed, approaching with unanimous consent to saint Kentegern, elected him, although much holding back, and objecting many things, to be the pastor and bishop of their souls . . . Praying, therefore, for his prosperity, and blessing him in the name of the holy trinity, and committing him to the holy ghost the sanctifier, they enthroned him: and one bishop being sent for from Ireland, in the manner of the Britons and Scots, at that time, they caused him to be consecrated bishop . . . But saint Kentegern, although he were in this manner elected, performed every kind of correction of this rite, whereof we shall afterward speak. His cathedral-seat he placed in the town called *Deschu,* which is interpreted *The dear family,* which is now called Glasgow: and

gow; and in the following chapter, mention is made of his two brothers, Telleyr and Anguen, who resided in the same place. The author asserts that the mother of his saint "cujusdam regis, sectâ paganismi in Septentrionali plagâ Cambriâ [regno sci. Stratcludensi], filia fuit." (C. I.)

brought together a very numerous family of the servants of god, chaste, and living according to the form of the primitive church under the apostles, famous and dear to god. Now the diocese of that bishopric was extended according to the limits of the kingdom of Cambria: which kingdom, certainly, as the wall formerly erected by Severus the prince, was from sea to sea; afterward, by the aid and advice of the legion of the Romans, for preventing the irruption of the Picts, in the same place a wall was constructed having in breadth eight feet, in height, twelve feet: and it reaches unto the river of Forth, and, separating, divides Scotland from England. But this region Cambria, over which Kentegern presided with episcopal honour, formerly in the time of pope Eleutherius, king Lucius reigning, as, also, all Britain, had received the christian faith; but the pagans at divers times infesting the island, and lording it therein, the islanders fallen into apostacy, had cast away the received faith.

DXLIII. Quidam tirannus, vocabulo Morken, Cambrensis regni solum ascend[er]at: cui potestas, honor, et divitiæ ambulare in magnis et in mirabilibus super se persuaserant. Sed cor illius, sicut

elevatum erat in superbiam, ita e regione contractum et execatum extitit per avaritiam. Hic viri dei vitam atque doctrinam sprevit, atque despexit, occultè ei detrahens, in facie quandoque resistens, signa ejus magicis figmentis deputans, omnia facta ejus pro nichilo duxit. Vir verò domini cum quadam vice annona ad victualia fratrum monasterii indigeret, adivit regem, penuriam suam, et suorum, insinuans: et petens ut suam inopiam illius habundantia, juxta apostoli monita, subveniendo suppleret. Ille vero elatus et inflatus preces profundenti refudit contumelias, et aliquam subventionem roganti irrogavit injurias. Deinde ore blasfemo yronice ait ad eum: "Jacta curam tuam in domino, et ipse te enutriret, sicut sæpe cæteros ammonuisti, quum nichil deest timentibus deum, inquirentes autem eum non minuentur omni bono. Tu ergo, cum timeas deum, et mandata ejus observes, victu etiam necessario indiges? Ego autem, qui nec regnum dei quero, nec justiciam ejus, omnia mihi adjiciuntur prospera; omnium rerum arridet affluentia." Ad ultimum autem intulit, "inanis est ergo fides tua, falsa prædicatio tua." At vir sanctus contra allegans astruebat testimoniis sanctarum scriptarum, et vivis rationum assertionibus, et exemplis, multos justos et sanctos, et siti et egestate multipharia, in hoc sæculo affligi: reprobos re-

rum opulentia, deliciarum affluentia, et honorum fastigiis, sublimari. Et cum efficaciter et evidenter doceret pauperes patronos divitibus fore, quorum beneficiis sustentantur, divites vero pauperum patrocinio indigere, sicut vites ulmi sustentaculo. Barbarus non potuit resistere sapienti, et spiritui qui loquebatur per instrumentum suum, sed stomachando respondit: "Quid multa? Si confidens in deo tuo absque manu humana, omne far meum quod in horreis meisque acervis continetur, ad mansionem tuam transferre possis, animo libenti tibi concedo et dono, et de cætero postulationibus tuis devotus obtemperabo." Hæc dicens lætabundus recessit, quasi qui tali sponsione virum sanctum deluserit. Vespere autem facto sanctis elevatis oculis, ac manibus in cælum profluentibus lacrimis, orationem devotissime fudit ad dominum. Eadem autem hora, cum ex imo pectore sancti emergentes lacrimæ per oculos profluxerunt, flumen Clud, subtus defluens, ... subito ibat, et intumescebat; ripasque suas transcendens, ac horrea regis inibi constituta circumivens, et adlambens in alveum suum traxit. Et cum impetu magno usque ad locum nomine Mellingdevor, ubi sanctus tunc degere solebat, in aridam transposuit. . . Rex autem præfatus Morken, licet locuples valde, et magnus in oculis hominum, vile tamen mancipium Mammonis, egre tulit amissio-

nem, ut sibi videbatur, annonæ suæ, que de signo quod divinitus acciderat. . . . Turbato ergo præ furore oculo ejus multa convicia in sanctum præsulem evomuit, magum et maleficum inclamitans. Eique mandavit ut si ulterius in conspectu suo appareret, gravissimas pænas, utpote qui illi illusisset, lueret. Instigaverat nam illum in odium et injuriam sancti pontificis quidam pessimus, qui erat a secretis regis, nomine Catheli, quia odiosa et onerosa solet esse pravis vita bonorum ; et facile persuasorem admittit ad id quod amplectitur animus proclivus ad malum. . . . . Vir vero dei, sapientia volens vincere maliciam, in spiritu mansuetudinis potius quam in virga severitatis adivit principis præsentiam ; et more benignissimi patris instruendo, commonendo, corrigere studuit filii insipientiam. . . . . Vir autem Belial, instar aspidis surdæ et obturantis aures suas ni audiret vocem incantantis sapienter, verbo commonendo consilio salutis non adquievit. Immo majori dementia instimulatus irruit in illum, et calce percussit, et solotenus resupinavit. . . . Incentor hujus sacralegii Cathen cachinnans equum ascendit, et quasi qui de sancto triumphasse sibi videbatur, gratulabundus abscessit. . . . . Nondum longius processit a turba constituta in loco, et sonipes cui insedit nescio in quem obicem pede offendens corruit, et ascensor ejus retro ante januam

regis, domini sui, fracta cervice, quam adversus episcopum domini superbe extulerat, exspiravit. Regis autem pedes præoccupavit tumor, tumori successit dolor, dolorem mors subsequitur. Mortuusque in villa regia, quæ vocatur ex nomine ejus Thorp-Morken,* funerabatur. Nec tamen morbus ille a stirpis ejus successione succisus sepelitur. Ab initio nam temporis illius usque ad futurum seculum languor non desiit, sed podagra in posteros parentat; et licet non vultu vel corporis habitu, morbo tamen hujuscemodi prosapia patris sat. Genus namque regium, illius hoc genere morbi extinctum, testimonia mortis suæ denunciat [l. denunciant] qualiter zelotes suorum, et ulciscens dominus visitet peccata patrum in filios in multas generationes, et qualem retributionem superbis retribuat.†

DXLIII. A certain tyrant, by name Morken, had ascended the throne of the kingdom of Cambria: whom power, honour, and riches had persuaded to walk in great and wonderful things above himself. But his heart, as it was elevated into pride, so out of the region was it contracted and blinded by avarice. He spurned and despised the

* A Saxon name among Britons!

† *Vita Kentegerni, à Jocelino*, CC. 21, 22.

life and doctrine of the man of god, privately detracting him, and sometimes resisting him to his face; reputing his signs to be magical tricks, he held all his deeds for nothing. But the man of the lord, when, at a certain time, he wanted an allowance for the victuals of the brethren of the monastery, went to the king, insinuating the penury of him and his; and beseeching that his want the kings abundance, according to the apostles advice, helping, would supply. But he elated and inflated to the putter up of prayers returned contumely, and to the asker of help he bestowed injury. At length with a blasphemous mouth he ironically said to him, "Cast thy care in the lord, and he shall nourish thee, as thou hast often advised others, since nothing is wanting to those fearing god, but those asking him are not deprived of any good. Thou, therefore, as thou fearest god, and observest his commandments, dost thou even want necessary food? Now I, who neither seek the kingdom of god, nor his justice, all prosperous things are cast to me; the affluence of all things laughs." At last he concluded, "foolish therefore is thy faith, false thy preaching." But the holy man, replying, superadded from the testimonies of the holy scripture, and the living assertions of reasons, and by examples, that many just and holy men were afflicted with both

thirst and manifold want, in this life: and the reprobate elevated with the opulence of riches, the affluence of delights, and the degrees of honour. And when he efficaciously and evidently taught that the poor were patrons to the rich, by whose benefits they are supported, but that the rich needed the patronage of the poor, as the vine the support of the elm. The barbarian could not resist the sage and the spirit which spoke by his instrument, but peevishly answered: "Why many words? If confident, in thy god, without human power, all my corn which in my barns and heaps is contained, thou art able to transfer to thy mansion, with a willing mind I to thee grant and give, and for the future will devoutly comply with thy requests." Having said this, he departed very joyful, as one who, by such a promise, had deluded the holy man. Now the evening being come, the saint, with eyes and hands lifted up toward heaven, shedding tears, poured forth most devoutly a prayer to the lord. Now, in the same hour, when rising from the lowest breast of the saint tears flowed through his eyes, the river Clyde flowing below, ... suddenly rose and swelled, and overflowing its banks, and surrounding and licking up the kings barns there placed, drew them into its channel; and, with great violence, unto the place named Mellingdevor, where

the saint then went to dwell, transplaced it upon the dry land.... Now the aforesaid king Morken, although very rich, and great in the eyes of men, yet a vile slave of Mammon, bore hardly the loss, as it appeared to him, of his provision, and of the sign which had happened from god.... His eye, therefore, rolling with fury, he vomited many reproaches against the holy prelate, calling him a magician and enchanter, and sent him word, that if he any more appeared in his presence, he should suffer the most grievous punishments, as one who had mocked him. For a certain very bad man, who was of his privy council, named Catheli, had instigated him into hatred and injury of the holy bishop, because the life of the good is wont to be odious and troublesome to the bad; and he easily admitted a persuader to that which his mind prone to evil embraced. But the man of god willing by wisdom to conquer malice, in the spirit of gentleness rather than with the rod of severity, went into the presence of the prince; and in the manner of a most kind father, by instructing, and advising, studied to correct the folly of his son.... But the man of Belial, like to the adder, deaf, and shutting his ears lest he should hear the voice of the wise charmer, did not acquiesce in the word advising the counsel of salvation. Yea, rather, stimulated with greater madness, he rushed

upon him, and kicked him with his heel, and laid him on his back. The incentor of this sacrilege, Cathen, laughing, mounted his horse, and as one who seemed to himself to have triumphed over the saint, departed rejoicing... He had not yet proceeded very far from the crowd assembled in the place, and the horse on which he sat hitting with his foot against I know not what obstacle, fell down, and his rider behind, before the gate of the king his lord, the neck, which against the bishop of the lord he had proudly lifted up, being broken, expired. Now a tumour seized the kings feet, to the tumour succeeded pain, death followed the pain: and, dead, [he] was buried in the royal town, which is called from his name Thorp-Morken. Nor yet is that disease, cut off from the succession of his race, buried. For from the beginning of that time until the next age the weakness ceased not, but the gout took revenge upon his descendants; and although not in countenance, or habit of body, yet in this kind of disease the progeny resembled the father. As for the royal family extinguished by this sort of disease, the testimonies of their death declare, after what manner, jealous of his own, and revengeful, the lord visits the sins of the fathers upon the children into many generations, and what kind of retribution he gives to the proud.

DLX. Rex Rederech [quem dominus suscitaverat super regnum Cambrinum]* videns christianam religionem in regno suo pene deletam, magnam operam adhibuit quomodo repararet eam. Et diu apud se tractans, et cum aliis christianis qui erant ei a secretis, non invenit salubrius consilium, quo id posset perducere ad effectum, quam si desti-

* "Qui a discipulis sancti Patricii in Hibernia baptizatus fide christianissima." (C. 29.) The father of this *Rederech*, or *Roderc*, according to mr. Pinkerton, "was Morken, as," he says, "Jocelin shows." (*Enquiry*, I, 74.) Jocelin, however, says no such thing, and what he does say implies that there was no relationship between them. Adomnan, on the contrary, has an express chapter (L. 1, c. 15), "De rege *Roderco* filio *Totail*, qui *Petra Cloithe* regnavit, beati viri [Columbæ sci.] prophetia," and in an old Welsh genealogy, quoted by Williams, in his notes upon the *Æræ Cambrobrit.* at the end of Llwyds *Commentariolum* (p. 142) he is called "*Rhydderch Hael* [*i. e.* munificus] *ab Tudwal Tudglud:*" both which passages are actually cited by this veracious and consistent enquirer. That *Totail* or *Tudwal*, the father of *Rederech* or *Roderch*, was the *Tuduvallus* of Ælred is sufficiently probable: But why *Morken* intervenes, or *Roderch* succeeds, cannot be explained. From a subsequent chapter it appears, that his residence was "in Villa regia quæ *Pertmet* nuncupatur." He is supposed to be mentioned by Nennius, in the following passage: "Hussa regnavit annis septem; contra illos [Adda, *scilicet*, Æddric, Deodric, Friodolguald, et Hussa, reges Saxonum] quatuor reges, *Urbgen* [l. *Urien*] *et Ryderthen* [l. *Rydderch*] *et Guallane*, et *Morcant* dimicaverunt." (c. 64.)

naret nuncios ad sanctum Kentegernum, ob illum ad priorem cathedram revocandum* ... Direxit ergo rex nuncios ad beatum presulem, cum literis suis deprecatoriis, et commonitoriis, obsecrans, exhortans, et obtestans, per nomen domini ne pastor oves pascuæ suæ diu desolatas, et destitutas, ulterius deserendo, curam eis sui subtrahat ... Indicavit etiam vindice deo defunctos esse qui querebant animam ejus; juravitque se in omnibus, velut patri filium, obtemperaturum voluntati, doctrinæ, et preceptis ejus.†

Cum audisset rex Rederech, et populus ejus, quod Kentegernus advenisset de Wallia ad Cambriam, de exilio ad propriam patriam, rex cum ingenti letitia, et plurima multitudo lætabunda et laudans processerunt ei obviam.‡

Rex itaque Rederech, cernens manum dei bonam secum, et præ voto operantem, gaudio multo replebatur. Quantaque devotione interius ferveret foras ostendere non cunctabatur. Vestibus tamen regiis se exuens, genibus flexis, et manibus incutiens, cum consensu et consilio magnatum suorum, hominium suum sancto Kentegerno obtulit; eique dominium et principatum super universum regnum suum tradidit, illumque regem se patre rectorem sub

* He had been hitherto residing at Caerleon in Wales.
† *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 31. ‡ *Ibi.*

ipso, nominari voluit, sicut magnum quondam Constantinum imperatorem sancto Silvestro fecisse cognovit. Unde mos inolevit ut per multorum annorum curricula, quamdiu regnum Cambrinum in suo statu perduravit, semper princeps episcopo subditus fieret.*

Regina, Languoreth nomine,† diutinæ sterilitatis opprobrio depressa, benedictione et intercessione sancti episcopi, concepit, et peperit filium; ad totius parentelæ consolationem et gaudium: quem sanctus baptizans vocavit Constantinum, ob memoriam facti paterni . . . . Crevit itaque puer egregiæ indolis, etate et gratia, dilectus deo et hominibus, effectus qui jure hereditario, postquam pater in fata concessit, ei in regnum successit; episcopo autem, sicut et pater, semper subjectus. Et quia dominus erat cum eo, omnes barbaras nationes vicinas genti suæ, sine sanguinis effusione compressit. Omnesque reges qui ante se in regno Cambriæ principabantur, divitiis et gloria, dignitate, et quod præstantius est sanctitate, antecessit. Unde et meritis preclarus, consummans in bonum dies suos de seculo triumphari, et in celo et honore meruit coronari, sanctusque Constantinus usque in præsens solet a pluribus appellari.

* *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 33. † Afterward *Langueth.*

Sanctus præsul Kentegernus in Holdelino ecclesias construens, presbiteros et clerum ordinans, sedem episcopale aliquanto tempore, certa de causa, ibi constituit. Postea divina revelatione commonitus, illam ad civitatem suam Glasghu, æquitate exigente transtulit.*

DLX. King Rederech (whom the lord had raised over the kingdom of Cambria) seeing the christian religion in his kingdom almost destroyed, applied great labour [to know] in what manner he should repair it. And long treating the subject with himself, and with other christians, who were in his confidence, he found no counsel more salubrious, by which he might bring it to effect, than to send messengers to saint Kentegern, for recalling him to his former chair . . . The king, therefore, directed messengers to the blessed prelate, with his letters, excusative and commonitory, beseeching, exhorting and conjuring, by the name of the lord, that the shepherd, further deserting the sheep of his pasture, long desolate and destitute, may not withdraw from them his care . . . He showed also, that, god being the avenger, those were dead who sought his life; and swore that he in all things, as son to father,

* *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 33.

was ready to act according to his will, doctrine, and precepts.

When king Rederech and his people had heard that Kentegern was come from Wales to Cambria, out of exile to his own country, the king with much joy and a very great multitude joyful and singing praises proceeded to meet him.

King Rederech, therefore, perceiving the good hand of god with him, and operating beyond his wish, was filled with much joy: and did not delay to show outwardly with how much devotion he was inwardly heated. But divesting himself of his royal garments, with bent knees, and smiting with his hands, with the consent and counsel of his great men, he did his homage to St. Kentegern, and delivered to him the dominion and principality over his whole kingdom, and willed that king to be named ruler under him, being his father, as, he knew, that Constantine the great, formerly emperor, had done to St. Silvester: whence the custom grew up that, for the space of many years, as long as the Cambrian kingdom endured in its state, the prince was always subject to the bishop.

The queen, named Languoreth, depressed by the opprobrium of long sterility, by the benediction and intercession of the holy bishop, conceived and brought forth a son; to the consolation and joy of

all the family: whom the saint baptizing called Constantine, in memory of his fathers act . . . The boy, therefore, of an excellent disposition, increased in age and favour, beloved by god and men, become one whole hereditary right, after his father had yielded to the fates, succeeded him in his kingdom; but always, as well as his father, subject to the bishop. And because the lord was with him, all the barbarous nations neighbours to his people, he kept under without effusion of blood: And all the kings who before him reigned in the kingdom of Cambria, in riches and glory, and in dignity, and, what is more excellent, in sanctity, he excelled: whence also right famous by his merits, spending his days in good, he deserved to triumph in this life, and to be crowned with honour in heaven, and is hitherto wont to be called by many Saint Constantine.

The holy prelate Kentegern having constructed churches in Holdelin, and ordained priests and clergy, his episcopal seat for some time, from a certain cause, there made. Afterward, warned by divine revelation, he translated it to his city of Glasgow, as justice required.

DLXXVII. Prælium apud Arderydd.*

* *Æræ Cambrobritannicæ*, ad calcem H. Llwyd *Britannicæ descriptionis commentarioli* (à Gulielmio), p. 142. "*Arderydd* est nomen loci alicubi in Scotia; forte an *Atturith* vel *Atterith*, VI. M. P. ab æstuario Solvathiano distans, [*Atterith*, apud Usserium, 71]. In libro Triadum, qui mille fere abhinc annis editus fuit, prælium hoc ideo fertur esse unum ex tribus nugatoriis insulæ Britanniæ præliis qui a nulla de causa, vel saltem inepta et frivola, nido scilicet alaudæ, factum fuerit. Decertabant autem ex una parte (ut scribit Merlinus Caledonius) Aidanus perfidus (Aeddan Fradawg) et Gwendolavus F. Ceidiavi (Gwenddolau ab Peidjaw) duo principes ex boreali parte Britanniæ: Ex altera vero parte Rodericus munificus (Rhydderch Hael) Cumbriæ rex, qui victoriam ibi adeptus est. Rodericus autem ille ab auctore libri Triadum inter tres munificos viros insulæ Britanniæ recenseetur. Tritavum ciebat Maximum tyrannum, ut liquet ex antiquo tractatu cui titulus, a Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd, *i. e.* Genealogia nobilium septentrionis, ubi inter alia hæc legere est, Rhydderch Hael ab Tudwall Tudglud, ab Cedig, ab Dysnal Hen, ab Ednyfed, ab Macen Wledig. Hujus etiam mentio fit a Merlino Caledonio, Telesino, auctore veteri genealogiarum Saxonicarum ad calcem Nennii, uti etiam in antiquo cod. membranaceo legum Hoelinarum, et in vita S. Kentigerni et S. Asaphi." *Ibi.* The *Triades*, of which there is a copy and imperfect translation in the Harleian library (Num. 4181), are manifestly not older than the 13th (and probably the 14th, or even 15th) century, and of little or no authority. The work referred to, of Merlin Caledonius, would, if genuine, be a much more important publication on the subject of British history than any that has yet appeared. It seems to have been of great use to Geoffrey

DLXXVII. The battle at Arderyth.

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of Monmouth, in his metrical romance of Merlin, in which he has introduced a relation of this great battle. Roderic, however, though called king of the *Cumbri*, appears, in fact, to have been king of Strat-Clwyd, or Strath-Clyde: whether the two kingdoms were anciently united, under the name of *Cumbria* or *Cambria*, or have been supposed to be so, or the one mistaken for the other, cannot, perhaps, at such a distance of time, and under such unfavourable circumstances, be satisfactorily ascertained.* "The ancient *Cumbria*," according to a late Welsh writer, "is not to be understood as comprehended within the limits of the province now called *Cumberland*; but it was so much of the northern country as the *Cynmry* retained at that period, extending into Scotland." ("Some account of the life of Llywarch Hen," prefixed to "*The heroic elegies, &c.*" of that bard, with a translation by W. Owen.) Joceline says that the diocese of St. Kentigerns bishopric was extended according to the limits of the kingdom of *Cambria*: which, like the former wall by prince Severus, was from sea to sea. "Caradoc," according to mr. Pinkerton, "says, 'the northern

* Geoffrey, in his life of Merlin, calls this Roderic (*Rodarchus*) sometimes *Cambrorum*, sometimes *Cumbrorum rex*. He married Ganieda the sister of Merlin.

> "Rodarchus moritur, postquam discordia longa
> Scotos et Cumbros per longum tempus habebit
> Donec crescenti tribuatur Cumbria denti."

The words *Kambria* and *Cambri*, also, frequently occur, and apparently with the same sense.

DLXXXIV. Gwrgius et Peredurus interfecti sunt.*

Britons of Strat-Clyde AND Cumberland:' thus clearly distinguishing between these countries." (*Enquiry*, I. 88.) It is not Caradoc, however, who says so, but some of his modern interpolators.

* *Æræ Cambrobrit.* p. 145. Hi duo cum sorore sua Ceindrech Penas gell tergemina proles audiebant. Pater horum fuit Oliverus Gosfordd fawr (*i. e.* magnum habens satellitium) in boreali Britanniæ plaga. In diebus istis et longo post tempore Britanni sive Cambri Dunclidum (*i. e.* Caer Alclud vel Arclud, nunc Dunbritton sive Dunbarton) et omnes regiones inde ad oras occidentales Cumberlandiæ et Westmorlandiæ tenuere. Harum autem regionum nobiles in nostris antiquis codd. MSS. Britannicis vocantur Teyrnedd y Gogledd, id est, Reges septentrionis, qui licet plures fuerint, omnes tamen Cumbriæ regis imperio obtemperabant. Matrem autem hi gemini fratres habuere Eurrdul filiam Conmarci F. Marciani (Gn sarch Amheirchjawn) et sororem Urieni Regediæ domini et Cumbriæ regis, qui unus erat ex Arthuri regis militibus. Mentionem facit hujus Urieni vetus auctor genealogiarum Saxonicarum quæ in nonnullis Nennii exemplaribus exstant. Hi patres, cum constituissent diem pugnandi adversus Eddam Glinmawr Saxonicum regem, ad civitatem Caergreu dictam in septentrione contenderunt cum magno amicorum, propinquorum, et sociorum, exercitu, qui inde, pridie quam

* *Morken* was king of *Cambria* during the first settlement of St. Kentegern in the see of Glasgow, and died of a mortification in the foot with which he had kicked that holy man (*Vita*, c. 21, 22), who, having after his death, retired into Wales, was recalled by Rederech, or Rodric (c. 25).

DLXXXIV. Gwrg and Peredur were killed.

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pugnaturus erat clam se subduxit, et deseruit dominos suos, qui ibi inimicorum gladio percussi sunt. *Ibi.* (*nota editoris.*) The passage referred to as in the interpolated copies of Nennius is in the following words: "Contra illos [Adda, Æddric, Deodric, Friodolguald, et Hussa] quatuor reges, Urbgen [l. Urien], et *Ryderthen*, et *Guallane*, et *Morcant*, dimicaverunt. *Deodric* [l. Rodric] contra illum *Urbgen* [Urien] cum filiis dimicabat fortiter." (*Editio Bertrami*, p. 141.) In a curious fragment of the life of St. Kentegern, bishop of Glasgow, and St. Asaph, extant in the Cotton library, he is said to have been the natural son of Ewen, the son of Erwegende, sprung from a most noble family of Britons, but who, in the gests of the minstrels, was called Ewen the son of king Ulien [r. Urien]. (*Vitæ antiquæ SS. qui habitaverunt in Scotia*, p. 203.)* Among the printed poems of Llywarch Hen is an elegy on his death. Wynne, in his augmentations of Caradocs *History of Wales*, (*London*, 1697, p. 12), mentions "Eneon Bhrenin or Anianus, king of the Scots, ... son to Owen Danwyn, the son of Eneon Yrth, son to Cunedha Wledig king of Cambria, and a great prince in the north, and cosin-german to the great Maelgwn Gwyneth king of Britain, who died about the year

* "Caradoc," according to mr. Pinkerton, "mentions that Kentigern, who lived about 600, was grandson to Urien king of Cumbria, and son of Owen, regent of Scotland" (*Enquiry*, I. 96): but this is another of his misrepresentations; nothing of the kind being to be found in Caradoc. The Welsh, however, have a fabulous history of this *Ouen ab Yrien*. See Lhuyds *Archæologia*, p. 265.

DCI. Beatus Kentegernus plenus dierum, cum esset centum octoginta quinque annorum, meritis maturus, signis et prodigiis et præsagiis præclarus, transivit ex hoc mundo ad patrem.*

Eodem anno quo sanctus Kentegernus rebus exemptus humanis ad cælos migravit, rex Rederech, in villa regia quæ Pertmet nuncupatur, diutius solito commoratus est. In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus,

586." Unless by *Cambria* is intended Strath-Clyde, as Joceline uses it, it may possibly be a mistake for *Cumbria*. In fact, however, the Welsh historians, from their secret and suspicious authorities, which they want either sense or honesty to quote in the established manner of all other modern writers, are not much to be relied on. Langhorn, an author of the same stamp, gives a list of the *Reges Cumbriæ et Arcludæ*, in which he enumerates (among others) " Angusellus, Lothi et Uriani pater, Evenus, Uriani filius, Rodericus Cereticus, Hoanus, sive Oenus, Donaldum Breccum Scotorum regem interfecit, Deovama, Edberto Northumbrensi contemporaneus, Anonymus, Hiberno Northumbrensi contra Scotos fœderatus, Constantinus ejus filius à Gregorio Scotorum rege occisus, Hebertus Constantini frater." *Chro. regum Anglo.* 1679. One Nicholas, in a letter to Eadmer bishop elect of St. Andrews (about 1120), calls the bishopric of Glasgow " *Cumbrensem*," adding " quam *Johannes* modo tenet." (*Anglia sacra*, 11, 236.) The same prelate, in the Saxon chronicle, is called bishop of *Lothene*.

* *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 44. John of Tinmouth also states him to have died at the same age. (See Usher, 370.)

vocabulo Laloicen,* degebat, qui ibi victualium et vestitus necessaria, ex regis munificentia, recipiebat. Solent enim optimates terræ, filii regni, vanitati dediti, homines hujusmodi secum retinere; qui et ipsos dominos, et familiam, verbis et gestibus fatuis possint in jocos et cachinnos commovere. Hic homo post depositionem sancti Kentegerni gravissimis lamentis se afficiebat; nec aliquam consolationem ab aliquo accipere volebat. Qui cum perquireretur cur tam inconsolabiliter lugeret, respondit regem Rederech dominum suum, et quemdam de primoribus terræ, nomine Morthec, non posse post mortem sancti episcopi diutius in hac vita morari, sed illo anno præsenti in fata cecessuros.† Eodem ergo anno quo pontifex sanctus decessit

* This Laloicen, or Lailoken, as we learn from the interpolated *Scotichronicon* (L. 3, c. 31), was the celebrated Welsh prince, prophet, and poet, Merlin, surnamed Caledonius, or Sylvester, who, according to his life, in Latin metre, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, went mad in consequence of the prodigious slaughter, and particularly the death of the three brothers of Peredur duke of the Venedoti (or North-Welsh), in a great battle between that prince and Guennolous king of Scotland, where both Merlin and Rederech (or Rodarc) appeared on the part of Peredur; and not, as 'dr.' Leyden says, "on account of the slaughter of his nephew." (*Complaynt of Scotland*, "preliminary dissertation," p. 199.)

† *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 45.

Kentegernus, et rex, et princeps prædicti, obierunt; et in Glasghu sepulti sunt.*

* *Vita Kentegerni*, c. 45. In the life of St. Columba, by Adomnan, is a chapter, entitled "De rege Roderco filio Totail, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit, beati viri prophetia." At another time, it relates, as he was the friend of the holy man, he sent to him a certain secret message by Lugbe Mocumin, wishing to know if by his enemies he were to be killed or not. But Lugbe, being interrogated by the saint, concerning the same king, and his kingdom and people, answering, as one sorrowful, says, "Why dost thou enquire concerning that wretch, who can, in no wise, know in what hour he shall be killed by enemies?" The saint then, afterward, says: "Never shall he be delivered into the hands of enemies: but shall die in his house, upon his feather-bed." Which prophecy, concerning king Roderc, was completely fulfilled; for, according to his word, he died in his house an easy death. (L. 1, c. 15.) This monarch (who, as elsewhere mentioned, deservedly obtained the surname of *Hael*, or the munificent,) was, as we are told by Joceline, greatly magnified by the lord, because he adhered to him with faith and the service of good works, and obeyed the will of St Kentegern. Glory and riches in his house, liberality in his heart, urbanity in his mouth, munificence in his hand, so that the lord had blessed the works of his hands. Whence not only in the borders surrounding his land, but even beyond sea into Hibernia went out the fame of his bounty. For which cause by a certain king of Hibernia a juggler (or minstrel), skilled and dexterous in his profession, is sent into Cambria, to the court of the said king, that he might see if the truth would answer to fame so far and widely diffused. The juggler, admitted into the palace, played on the tympanum and cithara; and rejoiced the king and his palatines all the feast

DCI. The blessed Kentegern, full of days, being of one hundred and eighty [five] years, mature in

days of the lords nativity (*i. e.* during the Christmas holidays). The solemnity of the most holy epiphany of the lord being fulfilled, the king commanded gifts to be brought and given to the juggler, as suited his royal magnificence: all which the minstrel rejecting, said he could have enough of such things in his own country. Being asked by the king what he would accept, he answered that of gold or silver, garments or horses, with which Hibernia abounded, he was in no want. "But," says he, "if thou wilt that I depart from thee remunerated, let there be given to me a dish full of fresh mulberries." Those who heard this expression proceed from the mans mouth, burst into laughter, because they supposed him to have uttered it in jest. He, however, affirmed with an oath that he demanded the mulberries not in jest but in earnest; neither prayers, nor promises, nor offers of the most ample gifts, could in any wise bend him from this determination; and, rising up from the midst he declared, that he would depart, and expect, as is wont to be vulgarly said, the kings honour. Now this the king took in sufficient discontent, and that he might not be dishonoured, enquired of his nobles what thereupon was expedient to be done. For it was winter, and no mulberries could be anywhere found. Advised therefore by the counsel of his nobles he went to St. Kentegern, and humbly besought that he would by prayer obtain from god what was required. The man of god, although he did not think it grateful to spend his prayer in such trifles, yet as he knew the king to have great devotion toward god and the holy church, resolved to condescend to his petition. Deliberating, therefore, a little within himself, and briefly praying, he said to the king, "Dost thou remember in what place, in the summer time, thou cast away the garment

merits, famous by signs and prodigies and presages, passed from this world to the father.

thou hadst on, on account of the too great heat, when thou went a-hunting that thou mightst more expeditiously follow the dogs: forgetting or little-caring to take it, whither thou hadst unburthened thyself thou didst not return?" The king answered, saying, "I know, my lord the king and bishop, the time and place."—"Go," said the saint, "quickly to the place, and thou wilt find that vestment yet entire, and spread upon a bramble-bush, and underneath plenty of ripe mulberries, still fresh and fit to take. Take them, and satisfy the jugglers demand; and by all means be careful that god who does not permit thy honour to be mutilated or diminished in so light a cause, thou more and more honour." The king did as the bishop commanded, and found all things as he foretold. Taking therefore a dish, and filling it with mulberries, he gave it to the minstrel, saying, "Lo, what thou hast demanded receive; for, by the hand of god operating with us, thou shalt not be able to hurt the fame of my bounty in any respect; and that I may not appear more covetous to thee than to others, stay with us as long as thou shalt please." The minstrel seeing the dish full of mulberries, contrary to the season, wondering, was afraid; and when he had known the order of the thing done, he exclaimed and said, "Truly there is none like to thee in the kings of the earth, munificent in bounty, and there is none like to Kentegern magnificent in sanctity, praiseworthy and working miracles, who effects in my sight such things against expectation. Now I will not depart from thy house, and from thy service; but will be to thee an everlasting servant so long as I shall live." The minstrel therefore remained in the kings palace; and served him in the juggling art a great many days. Afterward setting before his face the

In the same year in which saint Kentegern, taken out of human affairs, migrated to heaven, king Rederech, in the royal town which is called Pertmet remained longer than usual. In his court dwelled a certain foolish man, named Laloicen, who there, from the kings munificence, received the necessaries of victuals and raiment. For the great men of the land, the sons of the kingdom (*i. e.* princes), given up to vanity, were wont to retain with them men of this kind; who, by their foolish words and actions might move both the lords themselves and the fa-

stimulus of divine fear, he renounced the profession of minstrel, and entering the ways of a better life, gave himself to divine attendance. (C. 37.) The author, Joceline, who wrote about the year 1180, professes to have made use of two more ancient lives, one of which was in Scotish (or Irish, "stilo Scotico . . aut sermone barbarico"), and the other made use of in the church of Glasgow. Ralph archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, refers, in all probability, to the latter of these lives, where he says, "veruntamen sicut in gestis sanctorum virorum, Columbæ, viz. . . . . et venerabilis Cantugerni episcopi, qui primus Glasguensi ecclesiæ præfuit invenitur." *Decem scrip.* co. 1746. In the Cotton library (Titus A. XIX.) is a fragment entitled "Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Kentegerni," written, it appears, at the instance of Herbert bishop of Glasgow (1147-1164). His life is, also, in the collection of John of Tinmouth, probably after Joceline. He is mentioned, however, neither by Bede, nor by Nennius, nor, in fact, by any writers more ancient than Ralph and Joceline.

mily into jest and laughter. This man, after the deposition of saint Kentegern, afflicted himself with the most grievous lamentations; nor would receive consolation from any one: and when he was asked why he did so inconsolably lament, he answered, that king Rederech his lord, and one of the chiefs of the land, named Morthec, could not after the death of the holy bishop longer remain in this life, but were about to yield to fate in that present year. In the same year, therefore, in which the holy bishop Kentegern departed, both the king and the prince aforesaid died, and were buried in Glasgow.

DCXLII. Bellum Offa apud Britones.

DCXLII. The battle of Offa among the Britons.

DCLVIII. Mors Guiret regis Alocluothe.

DCLVIII. The death of Guiret king of Alcluyd.

DCXCIV. Daniell M'Avin rex Alocluathe moritur.

DCXCIV. Daniel, the son of Owen, king of Alcluyd dies.

DCCXI. Congressio Brittonum et Dalriada, apud Longecoleth, ubi Britones devicti.

DCCXI. An engagement of the Britons and Dalriads, at Longcoleth, where the Britons were defeated.

DCCXVII. Congressio Dalriada et Britonum, in lapide qui vocatur Minmro, et Britones devicti sunt.

DCCXVII. An engagement of the Dalriads and Britons, at the stone which is called Minmro, and the Britons were defeated.

DCCXXII. Bile Mac Eilphin rex Alocluathe moritur.

DCCXXII. Bili the son of Elphin king of Alcluyd dies.

DCCXLIV. Factum est prælium inter Pictos et Brittones.*

DCCXLIV. [A battle was fought between the Picts and Britons.]

DCCL. Bellum Cato inter Pictores [l. Pictones] et Brittones, in quo cecidit Talorgan Mac Fergusa, frater Aongusa.†

DCCL. [A battle between the Picts and Britons,

* S. Dunel. co. 104.
† *An. Ul.* See also Caradoc, p. 16.

in which fell Talorgan Mac Fergusa, brother of Aongusa.]

DCCLVI. Eadbert rex, xviii anno regni sui, et Unust rex Pictorum duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Alcwith. Ibique Brittones inde conditionem receperunt,* prima die mensis Augusti.†

DCCLVI. Edbert king, in the 18th year of his reign, and Unust king of the Picts led an army to the city of Alcluyd, and there the Britons thereof received (*i. e.* surrendered upon) condition, the first day of August.

DCCLXXX. Combustio Alocluathe in kalen. Janu.‡

DCCLXXX. The burning of Alcluyd in the calends of January.

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* "*In deditionem* (Kilm.)" Usher, p. 427.

† *An. Ul.* ad an. 657, &c. All the dates in that part of those annals being a year behind.

‡ *Ibi.*

DCCCXV. Conan M'Ruorach, kinge of Britons, died.

DCCCXLVIII. Britanni concremaverunt Dulblaan.*

DCCCLXIX. Hoc anno urbs Alclud, ab olim tam famosa, quæ ad occidentalem extremitatem illius famosi muri sita est per Dacos funditus est deleta.†

DCCCLXIX. In this year the city of Alcluyd, so famous of old, which is situate at the western extremity of that famous wall, was utterly destroyed.

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* *Vetus chronicon, apud Innes*, p. 783.

† J. de Bromton, co. 807. Obsessio Ailcluahe à Nordmannis; id est, Aulaiv et Ivar, duo reges Normannorum, obsiderunt arcem illum; et destruxerunt, in fine IV mensium, arcem, et prædaverunt. *An. Ul.* The date in these annals agreeing with Bromton may seem to prove, that the former are not in every instance a year behind the true account. Higdin of Beverley, however, places this destruction in 870. See Lelands *Col.* II. 371, 397.

DCCCLXXI. Aulaiv and Ivar came again to Dublin, out of Scotland; and brought with them great booties, from Englishmen, Britons, and Pights, in their two hundred ships, with many of their people captives.

DCCCLXXII. Artga rex Brittonum Strath-Cluohe, consilio Constantini Mac Cinaoch occisus est.*

DCCCLXXII. Artga king of the Britons of Strathcluyd, by the counsel of Constantine Mac Kenneth, was killed.

DCCCLXXV. Exercitus [paganorum sive Danorum] Hreopedune deserens, in duas se divisit turmas; cujus altera pars cum Healfteno in regionem Northanhymbrorum perrexit, et ibi hyemavit juxta flumen, quod dicitur Tine; et totam Northanhym-

* *An. Ul.*

brorum regionem suo subdidit dominio; necnon et Pictos et Stratduttenses [l. Stratcluttenses] depopulati sunt.*

DCCCLXXV. The army [of the Pagans or Danes] leaving Repton, divided itself into two battalions; of which one part marched with Healften into the region of the Northumbrians, and there wintered by the river which is called Tyne; and subjected the whole region of the Northumbrians to his dominion; they, also, depopulated both the Picts and the Strathclydians.

DCCCLXXVI. After the death of Roderic the great [king or prince of Wales], the Northern Britains of Stratclwyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots, insomuch that as many of them as would not submit their

* Asserius, p. 27. The Saxon chronicle, upon this occasion, calls these *Stratcluttenses* Stræcled [l. Strætcled] Wealas, *i. e.* Strath-Clyde-Welsh.

necks to the yoke, were forced to quit their country, and to seek for more quiet habitations.*

DCCCLXXVII. Roary Mac Murmin, king of Britons, came into Ireland, for refuge from Black gentiles. *An. Ul.*

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* Caradoc, by Wynne, 1697, p. 37. "Constat has regiones [Damnii *sci.* seu Westmarios, et Cumbriam] cum Gallovidia usque ad Cludam amnem ad annum nostræ salutis DCCCLXX a Britannis possideri, quo tempore à Scotis, Danis, et Anglis multis bellis lacessiti, et tandem Constantino eorum rege ad Lochmaban in Anandia occiso, in Cambriam ad contribules suos migrare coacti sunt." Llwyd, p. 41. The name and death of this Constantine, king of Strath-Clwyd or Cumberland, are mentioned by no other writer.†

† An ancient chronicle, published by Innes (p. 784) calls *Eochodius*, king of Scotland, the successor of Ed, in 883 "filius Ku regis Britanorum nepos Kinadi ac fil;" which seems to be mr. D. Macphersons sole authority for concluding that the kings of Strath-Clyde were "sometimes, perhaps always, of the Scottish royal family." Mr. Pinkerton, likewise, asserts that "Eochoid, the son of a king of Strat-Clyde, came to the Pikish [*i. e.* Scotish] throne, *by inheritance*, in 883" (*Enquiry*, I, 78, 80).

DCCCLXXVIII. Roary son of Murmin, king of Britons, killed by Saxons. *Ibi.*

DCCCXCIX. Eadwardus, cognomento senior, [Angul-Saxonum rex] Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Stretgledunalorum, omnesque occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditionem accepit.*

DCCCXCIX. Edward, surnamed the elder, king of the Anglo-Saxons, received the submission of all the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, Strath-Clyde-Welsh, and Western Britons.

DCCCCXXI. Rex Scottorum cum tota gente sua, et Regnaldus rex Danorum, cum Anglis et Danis Northymbriam incolentibus, rex etiam Stredde-dunalorum [l. Stredcledunalorum] cum suis, re-

* Simeon Dunel.

gem seniorem sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt, firmumque fœdus cum eo pepigerunt.*

DCCCCXXI. The king of Scots with his whole nation, and Reginald king of the Danes, with the English and Danes inhabiting Northumberland, the king also of the Strath-Clyde-Britons with his people, chose the elder king for their father and lord, and contracted with him a firm league.

DCCCC . . . Mortui sunt in tempore hujus [Constantini scilicet, filii Edii] Dovenaldus rex Britannorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ede rex eligitur.†

DCCCC . . . Died in the time of Constantine Mac Hugh Donald king of the Britons, and Donald the son of Hugh is elected king.

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* Simeon Dunel. See also *Chro. Sax.* 924: "& eac Stræcled-Weala cyning. & ealle Stræcled-Wealas."

† *Cro. Pictorum.*

DCCCCXLIV. The Englishmen did enter Wales with a strong armie, and spoiled Strad-Clwyd, and returned home.*

DCCCCLXX. Culen [rex Scotorum] et frater ejus Eochodius occisi sunt a Britonibus.†

DCCCCLXX. Culen, king of Scots, and his brother Eochy were slain by the Britons.

DCCCCLXXV. Daniel Mac Owen king of Wales [died] in pilgrimage.‡

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* Caradoc, by Lhoyd, p. 58. See also Llwyds *Commentariolum*, by Williams, p. 41.

† *Chro. Pictorum*, Innes, p. 788. "Culen Illuile, king of Scotland, killed by Britons, in open battle." *An. Ul.* ad 970.

‡ *An. Ul.* "At that time [between 972 and before 976] Dwnwalhon prince of Strad Clwyd tooke his journie to Rome." Caradoc, p. 64. See also Llwyds *Commentariolum*, p. 41, 87.

MXVIII. Ingens bellum apud Carrum * gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymbrorum et Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottorum. Cum quo fuit in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Lutinensium [l. Clutinensium].†

* Near Wark, *in Northumbriâ*, but not the same place.

† Simeon Dunel. There never was a people called *Lutinenses*. The MS. of Simeon (according to mr. D. Macpherson, *Q. ubi ?*), as well as Lelands extract (*Col.* II, 354) reads "*Clutinensium*," which mr. M. supposes to mean "the people of *Strathcluyd*." Mr. Pinkerton, absurdly, says that this *rex Lutinensium* "seems a titular king, whom Malcolm supported against the earl of Northumberland, in his claim for the *English Lothen*, or present *Northumberland* [which never was so called]," (*Enquiry*, II, 212); and elsewhere, that "*Eugenius Calvus*, or Owen the bald, *kinglet of Lothian*, [a kingdom never before heard of], assisted Malcolm." (*Ibi.* 189.) It should, at the same time, be observed that the word *Clutinenses*, if genuine, is to be found in no other writer; that Simeon himself calls this people *Stredgledunalorum*, (co. 151) *Streddedunalorum* [l. *Stredcledunalorum*], (co. 153), and *Stretduccenses* [l. *Stretclucenses*] (co. 127); and that the more legitimate name would have been *Clutenses* (or, as Asser, *Stratcluttenses*) and not *Clutinenses*. To this may be added, that, according to Llwyd, Dunwallo, who died at Rome, in 974, was the last king of Strath-Cluyd; and that Huchtred appears, from the Saxon chronicle, to have been assassinated in 1016.

MXVIII. A great battle was fought at Carrum between the Scots and the English, between Huchtred the son of Waltheof earl of the Northumbrians and Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, king of the Scots: with whom was in the battle Owen the bald, king of the Strath-Clyde-Welsh.

Annals of Cumberland.

INTRODUCTION.

Westmorlandiæ ad occasum præjacet Cumbria, vulgò Cumberland, ultima in hac parte Angliæ provincia, utpote quæ ipsam Scotiam ab arcto attingit, ab austro et occidente Hibernico oceano pulsata, ab ortu, verò, super Westmorlandiam, Northumbriæ contigua. Nomen ab incolis traxit, qui veri, et germani Britanni fuerunt, et se sua lingua Kumbri et Kambri indigitârunt. Britannos enim diu hîc insedisse, fremente Saxone, historiæ testantur, ipseque Marianus, qui hanc regionem Cumbrorum terram dixit; ut taceam Britannica passim locorum nomina, cujusmodi sunt Caerluel, Caerdronoc, Penrith, Penrodoc, &c., quæ hoc planissimè loquuntur, et assertioni meæ probationem præstant vel apertissimam.*

* *Præfatio Camdeni. Britannia, Londini*, 1587, p. 521. He places it under the Brigantes. Richard of Cirencester, however, calls the inhabitants on the west of the Penine Alps (*i. e.* Stane-

To the west of Westmoreland lies Cumbria, vulgarly Cumberland, the last province in this part of

more) the Volantii and Sistuntii, (L. I, c. 6.); and, according to Llwyd, "Cumbriam olim habitabant Selgovii et Otadeni [*rectius* Selgovæ et Otadini]. *Com.* p. 40. Bromton says that the counties of Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, were part of the kingdom of Northumberland, which extended from the Humber to the Scotish Sea, (Co. 801); and it would seem, from Simeon of Durham, that Cumberland and Cornwall were not, in his time, enumerated among the shires of England. See likewise *Polychronicon*, p. 201. This county, as well as Northumberland, Durham, and most part of Westmoreland, is omitted in Domesday-book, not, perhaps, as is generally surmised, by reason of the turbulent or impoverished state of those parts, but from some accident, or precipitancy, which prevented the completion of that part of the survey, part of Westmoreland being confusedly inserted in the description of Yorkshire; and even London and Winchester excluded for the same, or some similar, reason. See also the preface to the *Annals of Strath-Clyde*, and those annals, under the years 577 and 584. It were to be wished that the identical words here imputed to Marianus had been more particularly referred to. He is elsewhere quoted by this great topographer, (whose memory seems to have occasionally deceived him), instead of Henry of Huntingdon. Cumbri, in all probability, is the same as Cambri, both meaning Welsh. No instance, however, of the existence of either term, or of the name of Cambria, or Cumbria, can he found before the tenth century, when Cumber-land is first mentioned in the Saxon chronicle. The Cumbri are likewise noticed by Ethelwerd, before 1090, (p. 844) but no where, with submission to Camden, by Marianus, or any earlier writer, none of which he was able to quote.

England, as that which touches Scotland itself from the north, is beaten by the Irish ocean from the south and west, and from the east, above Westmoreland, is contiguous to Northumberland. The name it drew from the inhabitants, who were the true and natural Britons, and called themselves, in their own language, Cumbri and Cambri. For that the Britons, while the Saxon raged, seated themselves here for a long time, histories bear witness, and Marianus himself, who called this region *the land of the Cumbrians;* not to mention the numerous British names of places, of which kind are Caerluel, Caerdonoc, Penrith, Penrodoc; &c.,* which speak this most plainly, and afford even the most open proof to my assertion.

The new *History of Cumberland* throws no light upon the pristine state of that county. The author, being little acquainted with old historians, and a total stranger to ancient manuscripts, supplies his want of knowledge with the lying relations of modern writers:

> "As geographers, on barren downs,
> Place elephants, for want of towns."

* Certainly *Caer*, in British, means *city*, and *Pen*, *head*, how, or when, ever those names might be given.

ANNALS OF CUMBERLAND.

ANNALES CUMBRIÆ.

DCLXXXV. [Rex Egfridus, et Theodorus archiepiscopus], villam Crecam, et tria in circuitu ipsius villæ milliaria, 'Cuthberto' dederunt.... Et quia illa terra minus sufficiens erat, Lugubaliam, quæ Luel vocatur, in circuitu quindecim milliaria habentem in augmentum suscepit. Ubi etiam sanctimonalium congregatione stabilita, reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit, et in profectum divinæ servitutis scholas instituit.*

* S. Dunel. *Historia de Dunel. ecclesia*, p. 5. See the charter in *Ap. ad Bedæ Opera*, Nu. 22. Bede, in his life of Cuthbert, mentions two visits of that saint, in this and the following year, "ad Lugubaliam civitatem, quæ a populis Anglorum Luel vocatur" (c. 27, 28). It is evident, from the above grant, that Cumberland was in the hands of the English at this period. The kingdom of Strath-Clyde continued to, at least, the year 971; but even in the time of Bede, Whithern, in Galloway, was included in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which certainly extended from the Humber to the firth of Forth.

ANNALS OF CUMBERLAND.

DCLXXXV. King Egfrid, and Theodore, the archbishop, gave to Cuthbert the town of Craike, and three miles round the same . . . . and because this land was insufficient, he received Lugubalia, which is called Luel [Carlyle] being fifteen miles round, in augmentation. Where, also, having founded a society of nuns, he consecrated the queen, giving her the habit of religion, and instituted schools for the benefit of divine service.

DCCCLIV. Eardulfus, vir magni meriti, cathedræ pontificalis gubernacula, [ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis], suscepit, nec minorem quam proximis Lindisfarnensium, quibusque longè positis episcopatus sui locis pastoralis curæ sollicitudinem impendebat: quorum Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur, non solum proprii juris sancti Cuthberti fuerat, sed etiam ad sui episcopatus regimen ab Egfridi regis temporibus semper adjacebat.*

* S. Dunel. *Hist. de Dunel. ecclesia*, co. 13. In the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (II, 845), are two writs from William the bastard, one to " W. filio Theoderici et omnibus fidelibus

DCCCLIV. Eardulf, a man of great merit, undertook the government of the pontifical chair of the church of Lindisfarn, nor did he bestow less solicitude of pastoral care, than to the nearest places of Lindisfarn, to those situated at a distance from his bishopric, of which Luel, which is now called Carleol, not only of proper right pertained to saint Cuthbert, but moreover always lay contiguous to

suis de *Carleolo*," the other to " G. vicecomiti et baronibus suis de *Caerleil*," commanding them to be obedient, in religious matters, to the bishop of Durham, and his archdeacon, a decisive proof that Cumberland was, at that period, under the dominion of the English crown. According to William of Malmesbury, there was in his time (about 1140) in the city of Lugubalia, (now Carlisle), a bed of stones vaulted with arches, which no spite of tempests, nor even wood placed by it out of design, and set on fire, had ever availed to ruin. The country, he says, is called Cumberland, and the men are called Cumbrians, and an inscription is read in the front of the bed: MARII VICTORIÆ (to the victory of Marius). " What it is," he adds, " I am at a loss to conjecture, unless, perhaps, part of the Cimbrians had settled in these places, when they were driven out of Italy by Marius" (*De gestis pontificum pro.* L. 3). " Here," observes the sagacious plagiarist Randal Higden, " William of Malmesbury was deceived, thinking this title of the stone to belong to Marius, the Roman consul. Nor is it to be wondered at, since he had not read the British book [Geoffrey of Monmouth] where it treats of king Marius." (*Polychro.* L. 4. c. 9). See Ushers *Antiquitates*, that, however, the inscription was not MARII VICTORIÆ, but MARTI VICTORI, see the introduction to the *Annals of the Picts*, § 1.

the jurisdiction of his bishopric from the time of king Egfrid.

DCCCLXXV. Barbari in sortes sibi duas dividunt regnum: partem sumpsit dux barbarorum, Healfdene nomen Northanhymbriorum; hyberno ibi sedilia tempore cudit juxta nominatum fluvium Tinam, ibidemque vastant territoria passim. Ast crebrius inducunt Pihtis bellum, Cumbrisque.*

DCCCLXXV. The barbarians divide the kingdom among themselves in two lots. The general of the barbarians, named Healfdene, took the part of the Northumbrians; there he takes up his seat, in the winter-time, near the river called Tyne, and there they waste the country on every side. But they more frequently make war upon the Picts and Cumbrians.

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* Ethelwerdus, p. 844. "Anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCLXXV. supra memoratus sæpe exercitus [Paganorum] Hreopedune deserens, in duas se divisit turmas; cujus altera pars cum Healftene in regionem Northanhymbrorum perrexit, et ibi hyemavit juxta flumen quod dicitur *Tine*; et totam Northanhymbrorum regionem suo subdidit dominio; necnon et Pictos et Stratduttenses [l. Stratcludenses] depopulati sunt." Asserius, p. 27. V. etiam *Chro. Sax.* p, 83, Aluredum Beverlacensem, p. 104, and F. Wigor. p. 589.

DCCCLXXVI. After the death of Roderic the great [king, or prince, of Wales], the northern Britains of Stratclwyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots, insomuch, that as many of them as would not submit their necks to the yoke, were forced to quit their country, and seek for more quiet habitations.*

DCCCXCIX. Edwardus rex, Ælfredi filius, Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Stretgladuvalorum, omnesque occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditionem accepit.†

* Caradocs *History of Wales*, augmented and improved by Wynne, 1697, p. 37. "Constat has regiones [Cumbriam sci.] cum Gallovidia usque ad Cludam amnem ad annum DCCCLXX a Britannis possideri, quo tempore à Scotis, Danis et Anglis, multis bellis lacessiti, et tandem Constantino eorum rege ad Lochmaban in Anandia occiso, in Cambriam ad contribules suos migrare coacti sunt." (H. Llwyd *Britan. descrip. com.* p. 41). The name and death of this Constantine, king of Cumberland, or Strath-Cluyd, are mentioned by no other writer. See, as to this Rederech, or Roderick, in the *Annals of Strath-Clyde*, under the year 560.

† S. Dunel. *Historia*, p. 151. "Invictissimus rex Anglo-

DCCCXCIX. [King Edward the son of Alfred] received the submission of the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, people of Strath-Clyde, and of all the western Britons.

DCCCCXXXIV. Æthelstanus rex Scotiam 'tendens' cum totius Britanniæ exercitu; fugato 'Ewino' rege Cumbrorum, et Constantino rege Scottorum, terrestri et navali exercitu, Scotiam sibi subjugando perdomuit.*

DCCCCXXXIV. King Athelstan marching into Scotland, with the whole army of Britain . . . Ewen, king of the Cumbrians, and Constantine, king of the Scots, being put to flight, by his land and sea army subjugating Scotland, was everywhere victorious.

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rum Eadwardus senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incolentibus Anglorum, Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Danorum, pariter et Brittonum populis gloriosissime præfuit...ex hac vita transiens, &c. [924]." *Ibi.* p. 154. *V. etiam* R. de Hoveden *Annales*, p. 421; and *Cronica de Mailros*, p. 147.

* S. Dunel. *His. ec. Dunel.* c. 25.

DCCCCXXXVIII. Apud Weondune, quod alio nomine Etbrunnanwerch, vel Brunnanbyrig, appellatur, pugnavit [Æthelstanus rex] contra Onlaf, Guthredi quondam regis filium qui DC. et XV. navibus advenerat, secum habens contra Ethelstanum auxilia regum præfatorum, scilicet Scottorum et Cumbrorum. At ille . . . prostrata multitudine infinita reges illos de regno suo propulit.*

* S. Dunel. &c. c. 26. Ingulph, likewise, mentions, by name, Constantine king of Scots, and Owen (Eugenius) king of the Cumbrians, as present with Anlaf at this battle (*Historia*, p. 37). "Ethelstanus rex, apud Wendune pugnavit, regemque Onlafum cum DC. et XV. navibus, Constantinum quoque regem Scottorum, et regem Cumbrorum; cum omr eorum multitudine in fugam vertit." (S. Dunel. *Historia de gestis regum Anglo.* c. 134.) Ingulph calls the place of action "Brunford in Northanhumbria," and Ethelwerd, "Brunandune;" but it is Brunan-burh in the Saxon chronicle; and is idly supposed, by Camden, to be Bromeridge in Northumberland, and still more erroneously and absurdly, by Hearne, "Brunesburgh nunc Seton, prope Axminstre in Devonia" (Lelands *Collectanea*, I, 194). Bishop Gibson, however, more correctly, from the passage of Florence of Worcester, "Hiberniensium multarum insularum rex paganus Anlafus à socero suo rege, Scotorum Constantino incitatus, ostium Humbri fluminis valida cum classe ingreditur. Cui rex Æthelstanus fraterque suus Eadmundus, in loco qui dicitur Brunanburgh, cum exercitu occurrerunt, &c." thinks it probable that the battle was decided rather in Lincolnshire, or Yorkshire, than in Northumberland: and it is observable, that either Peter Langetoft, or Robert of Brunne, his translator,

Fugit Analafus, filius Sicthrici, in Hyberniam, et frater ejus Godefridus in Scotiam; subsecuti sunt è vestigio regales missi ad Constantinum, et Eugenium regem Cumbrorum, transfugam cum denunciatione belli repetentes. Nec fuit animus barbaris, ut contra obmutirent, quin potius sine retractione, ad locum qui Dacor vocatur venientes, se cum suis regnis Anglorum regi [Adelstano] dedidere.*

DCCCCXXXVIII. At Wendon, which by an-

who was sufficiently conversant in that part of the country, says expressly,

"At *Brunesburgh* on *Humber* they gan him assaile."

That no such place now exists is an idle objection, as it may have been easily swallowed by the higre, as is well known to have been frequently the case.

There seems to be an omission in Simeons text: Anlaf was the son of Sithric, and Reginald the son of king Cuthred (M. West. p. 187). In fact Simeon himself, in another place, expressly calls Onlaf the son of Sihtric. The name of this pagan is constantly written *Analafus*, or *Analavus*, by W. of Malmesbury, as it is, by others, *Analaphus*, *Anlavus*, *Anlaf*, or *Onlaf*. Bromton, in one place, has *Aulaf*, in another *Hanlaf*; R. of Gloucester, *Analaf*; J. Wallingford, *Olaf*; Caradoc, Lhoyd, or Powel, *Hawlaf*. *Olavus*, however, seems to have been generally regarded as a different name.

* W. Malmes. *De g. r. A.*, L. 2, p. 50. *Dacor* is, probably, own *Dacre-castle*, in Cumberland, still in good preservation.

other name is called Etbrunnanwerch, or Brunnanburgh, king Athelstan fought against Anlaf, son of the late king Guthred, who had come over with 615 ships, having against Athelstan the aid of the aforesaid kings, to wit, of the Scots and of the Cumbrians. But he, an infinite multitude being prostrated, drove those kings out of his realm.

Anlaf, son of Sicthric, fled into Ireland, and his brother Godfrey into Scotland; the royal messengers closely followed their track to Constantine, king of the Scots, and Owen, king of the Cumbrians, demanding the fugitives, with denunciation of war. Nor had the barbarians resolution to be silent, but rather, without delay, coming to a place which is called Dacor, surrendered themselves, with their kingdoms, to Athelstan, the king of the English.

DCCCCXLV. Eadmund cyning ofer-hergode eall Cumbra-land et hit let to eal Malculme. Scotta cyninge. on that gerad that he wære his mid-wyrhta ægther ge on sæ ge on lande.*

* *Chro. Sax.* p. 115. "Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est, illamque regi Scottorum Malcolmo eo terrore dedit, ut terra marique sibi

Cum Eadredus, frater, et successor Eadmundi, à rege Cumbrorum juramentum fidelitatis accepis-

fidelis existeret." (S. Dunel. co. 156. R. de Hoveden, p. 423.) "Provincia, quæ vocatur *Cumberland*, regi Scottorum Malcolmo, sub fidelitate jurisjurandi commendata est." (W. Malmes. *De gestis regum Anglo.* L. 2, c. 7, p. 53, *ad. an.* 942). "Rex fortissimus Eadmundus . . . totam *Cumberland*, quia gentem provinciæ illius perfidam et legibus insolitam ad plenum domare nequibat, prædavit et contrivit, et commendavit eam Malculmo regi Scotiæ hoc pacto, quod in auxilio sibi foret terra et mari." (H. Huntindo. *Histo.* L. 5, p. 355). "Anno gratiæ 946 . . . . rex Eadmundus, adjutorio Leolini regis Demetiæ fretus, Cumbriam totam cunctis opibus spoliavit, ac duobus filiis Dummaili ejusdem provinciæ regis, oculorum luce privatis, regnum illud Malcolmo Scotorum regi, de se tenendum concessit, ut aquilonares partes, terra, marique, ab hostium adventantium incursione tueretur." (M. West. p. 188.) This *Dummail*, who is mentioned by no writer, except this monk, who flourished in 1307, may, possibly, be here confounded with *Dunwalhon*, or *Dunwallo*, the last king of Strath-Clyde, who, in 971, went to Rome, and there died. (See *The historie of Cambria*, p. 64; Llwyds *Britan. descrip. com.* by Williams, p. 87, 41.) It must be observed, however, that, in the life of saint Cadroë, we read that he came "usque terram *Cumbrorum*, *Dovenaldus* rex," it continues, "illi præerat plebi, et quia erat propinquus viri, cum omni gaudio occurrit, et secum aliquandiu retinens conduxit usque *Loidam* civitatem, quæ est confinium Normannorum [*l.* Northanhymbrorum] atque Cumbrorum; ibique excipitur à quodam viro nobili *Gunderico*, à quo perducitur ad regem *Erichium* in *Euroacum* [*l.* Eboracum] urbem: qui scilicet rex habebat conjugem, ipsius domini *Kaddroë* propinquam. Unde egres-

set, et partes illas insecuritate posuisset, versus austrum cum suis contendit.*

DCCCCXLV. King Edmund wasted all Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, king of Scots, on this condition, that he should be his ally both by sea and land.

When Edred, the brother and successor of Edmund, had received the oath of fidelity from the king of the Cumbrians, and put those parts in security, he returned with his army to the south.

DCCCCLXXIII. Se cyng [Eadgar] geleadde ealle his scip-here to Sæge-ceastre. & thær him comon on-gean vi. cyningas. & ealle with trywrodon that he woldon efenwy [r]hton beon on sæ. & on lande.†

sus *Lungdinam* civitatem expetiit," &c. This *Dovenald*, according to the Bollandist editors, was the Dummail of Matthew of Westminster: *Dovenaldus*, *Domnaldus*, or *Domnalus*, being one and the same name. *Loida* is, probably, intended for *Leeds* in Yorkshire. *Ericius*, a Dane, or of Danish extraction, was made king of the Northumbrians in 947, but banished in the following year. See R. de Hoveden, p. 423.

* M. of West.

† *Chro. Sax.* p. 122. "[Eadgarus rex Angliæ] regem Scottorum Kunadiurn, Cumbrorum, Malcolmum, archipira-

DCCCCLXXIII. The king Edgar led all his naval force to Chester; where he was met by six kings; all of whom pledged their faith that they would be his allies by sea and by land.

DCCCCXCVII. Malcolmus filius Domnaldi, Britonum aquilonarium (hoc est Cumbrorum) rex, mortuus est.*

tam Maccusium, omnesque reges Wallensium, quorum nomina fuerunt *Dusual*, *Gifreth*, *Hunal*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*, ad curiam coactos, uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligavit." (W. Malmes. p. 56.) "Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus .... cum ingenti classe, Britannia circumnavigata ad Legionum civitatem appulit. Cui subreguli ejus octo, *Kynath*, scilicet, rex Scottorum, *Malcolm* rex Cumbrorum, *Maccus* plurimarum rex insularum, et alii quinque, *Dufnald*, *Siferth*, *Huval*, *Jacob*, *Nichil* [aliter *Iuchil*, vel *Inchil*], ut mandaverat occurrerunt et quod sibi fideles et terra et mari coöperatores se vellent juraverunt. Cum quibus, die quadam, scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis De perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procerum simili navigio comitante à palatio ad monasterium sancti Johannis baptistæ navigavit." (S. Dunel. p. 159; see, also, Flo. Wigor. *Chro. Jorvalensis*, and *Cro. de Mailros*, *ad annum*.)

This *Malcolm*, king of the Cumbrians, appears to have been the son of *Donald*: there was no king of Scotland of either name between 954 and 1004.

* Tigernac, *Ogygia*, p. 487. O'Flaherty supposes this

DCCCCXCVII. Malcolm son of Donald, king of the northern Britons (that is, the Cumbrians), died.

M. Se cyng [Æthelred] ferde into Cumerlande. & hit swithe neah eall for-hergode.*

M. The king Ethelred went into Cumberland, and almost totally wasted it.

Malcolm, king of Cumberland, who is mentioned by no Scotish or English writer, to have been the grandson of Malcolm I. king of Scotland. It is, at any rate, certain that this Malcolm had two sons, Odo-Duf and Kenneth IV., and that Malcolm II. son to the latter, succeeded his cousin Kenneth V. in 1001. Malcolm I., who succeeded in 944, was himself the son of Donald II., who died in 904. Donald, the father of Malcolm, king of Cumberland, could not, therefore, be either king of Scotland, or the king of Scotlands son. Could he be the *Dovenald*, who visited saint Cadroë, or (if a different person) the *Dummail* of Matthew of Westminster, whose two sons were deprived of their eyes? See before, under 945.

* *Chro. Sax.* p. 130. "Exinde rex Edelred ivit in *Cumberland*, cum exercitu gravissimo, ubi maxima mansio Dacorum erat: vicitque Dacos bello maximo, totamque *Cumberland* prædando vastavit." (H. Huntindoniensis *Historiæ*, p. 358.) See, likewise, Simeon Dunelmensem, co. 164; Rogerum de Hoveden, p. 429; and Florentium Wigornensem, *ad. an.*

MLII. Concessit rex Siwardo Westmerlandiam, Cumberlandiam, et Northumbriam; quas quidem terras potenter pacificavit, regis inimicos contrivit, et Osbernum Bulax filium suum in Scotiam conquirendam misit.*

MLII. The king granted to Siward Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland; which provinces he powerfully pacified, broke the kings enemies, and sent Osbern Bulax his son into Scotland to conquer it.

MLIV. Siwardus [comes] Northanimbrensium, jussu [regis, S. Edwardi] cum Scottorum rege congressus vita regnoque spoliavit; ibidemque Malcolmum filium regis Cumbrorum regem instituit.†

* *Chro.* J. Bromton, c. 946. Bromton is an inaccurate, and even fabulous writer, of the 15th century. His account of Siward is a perfect romance.

† W. Malmesburiensis. "Strenuus dux Northymbrorum Siwardus jussu regis Eadwardi, et equestri exercitu et classe valida Scotiam adiit, et cum rege Scottorum *Macbeotha* prælium commisit, ac . . . . illum fugavit, et Malcolmum regis

MLIV. Siward earl of the Northumbrians, by command of king Edward, encountered with the king of Scots, whom he deprived of life and kingdom; and, at the same time, appointed Malcolm, son of the king of Cumbrians, king.

MLXX. Infinita Scottorum multitudo ducente Malcolmo rege per Cumbrelant traducta, versus orientem divertens, universam Tesedale et ejus finitima loca ultra citraque feroci vastavit populatione. Inter has Scottorum vastationes ac rapinas, Gospatricius comes (qui à rege Willielmo comitatum Northanhymbrorum precio assecutus fuerat) accitis auxiliatoribus strenuis atroci depopulatione Cumbreland invadit. Erat enim eo tempore Cumbre-

Cumbrorum filium, ut rex, jusserat, regem constituit." S. Dunel. c. 187. *V. etiam* R. de Hoveden, p. 443; et *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 158. "Siwardus dux Northanhymbrorum jussu regis Edwardi *Machetum* [l. Macbethum] regem Scotorum de regno privavit, et Malcolmum regem Cumbrorum regem Scotorum constituit." *Chronicon J. abbatis S. Petri de Burgo*, p. 43. This last writer is the only one who calls Malcolm himself king of the Cumbrians; perhaps inadvertently.

land sub regis Malcolmi dominio, non jure possessa, sed violenter subjugata.*

MLXX. An infinite multitude of Scots, headed by king Malcolm, being brought through Cumberland, turning toward the east, wasted all Teesdale, and its neighbourhood, on every side with ferocious ravage. Among this devastation and plunder of the Scots, earl Gospatrick (who had obtained, by a bribe from king William, the county of Northumberland) having called together strenuous auxiliaries, invaded Cumberland with atrocious depopulation: For, at that time, Cumberland was under the dominion of king Malcolm, not possessed by right, but subjugated by violence.

MLXXII. Illis temporibus regebat comitatum Carlioli [Cumbriæ sci.] comes Ranulphus de Micenis, qui efficax auxilium præbuit regi Gulihelmo

* S. Dunel. *Historia*, c. 200. *V. etiam* R. de Hoveden *Annales*, p. 452.

in conquestu suo Angliæ. Hic urbem Carlioli cœpit ædificare, et cives ejusdem plurimis privilegiis munire. Sed rediens rex Gulihelmus à Scotia per Cumbriam, videns tam regale municipium, abstulit illud à Ranulpho comite, et dedit illi pro eo comitatum Cestriæ, multis honoribus privilegiatum. Carliolum, verò, præcepit rex Gulihelmus turribus propugnaculisque muniri firmissimis.*

MLXXII. In those times, earl Randal de Meschines, who afforded efficacious assistance to king William in his conquest of England, governed the county of Carlisle [*i. e.* Cumberland]. He began to build the city, and to endow the citizens thereof with numerous privileges. But king William, returning from Scotland through Cumberland, beholding such a royal corporation, took it away from earl Randal, and gave him for it the county of Chester, privileged with many honours. But Carlisle king William commanded to be fortified with the strongest towers and ramparts.

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* M. West, p. 227. See before.

MLXXXVI. Willielmus rex Angliæ, W. filio Theoderici, et omnibus fidelibus suis de Carleolo, et omnibus qui manent ultra Loedriam, salutem. Præcipio vobis ut recipiatis christianitatem de episcopo Dunelmensi, et de archidiacono suo, et prædicto episcopo sitis obedientes de christianitatis legibus, sicut juste debetis obedire vestro episcopo: et videte, sicut me diligitis, ne ampliùs faciatis inde aliquam molestiam ministris episcopi injuste. Testibus Roberto filio Giraldi, (&c.)*

MLXXXVI. William king of England to W. son of Theoderic, and all his faithful of Carlisle, and all who live beyond the Lowther, greeting. I command you that you receive christianity of the bishop of Durham, and of his archdeacon, and to the aforesaid bishop be ye obedient to the laws of christianity, as you justly ought to obey your bishop: and see ye, as you love me, that you no further do thereof make any molestation to the ministers of the bishop unjustly. Witnesses Robert son of Girald, &c.

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* *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 845.

MXCII. Se cyng Willelm mid mycelre fyrde ferde north to Cardeol & tha burh geæthstawelede. & thone castel arerde. & Dolfin ut-ædræf the æror thær landes weold. & thone castel mid his mannan gesette. & siththan hider suth gewende. & mycele mænige Eyrlisces [Englisces] folces mid wifan. & mid orle thyder sende. thær to wunnigenne that land to tillianne.*

* *Chro. Sax. ad an.* "Rex Willielmus ivit in *Nord* apud *Cardeol*, et burgum ædificavit, et castellum incepit, et Dolfinum fugavit, cujus terra illa fuit, et misit homines suos in castello, et postea reversus est *Sud*, et misit illuc multos homines villanos cum uxoribus suis, et animalibus, ut in illa terra manerent." (*Annales Waverleienses*, p. 138.) "Interea *Melcolm* rex Scottorum prædatum veniens in Angliam, validissime vexavit eam: venientes, igitur, in Angliam rex, et cum eo Robertus frater suus, direxerunt acies in Scotiam. Itaque *Malcolm* nimio timore perstrictus homo regis effectus est, et juramento fidelitatis ei subjectus. Succedente anno rex reædificavit *Carleol*, et ex australibus Angliæ partibus illuc habitatores transmisit." (H. Huntindoniensis, p. 373.) "Rex in Northimbriam profectus, civitatem quæ Britannice *Cairleil*, Latine *Lugubalia* vocatur, restauravit, et in ea castellum ædificavit. Hæc enim civitas, ut illis in partibus aliæ nonnullæ, à Danis paganis ante CC annos diruta, et usque ad tempus id mansit deserto." (S. Dunel. c. 217. V. *plura* R. de Hoveden *Annales*, p. 462, 463. V. *etiam* Aluredi Beverlacensis *Annales*, p. 139, *Chro.* W. Hemingford, p. 463, *Chro. de Mailros*, p. 162.) There were several Dolphins: one, the son of Cospatric, and brother of Waltheof and Cospatric; another, the son of Torfin, (*Historia de Ucthredo*, c. 80); a third, the son

MXCII. King William, with a great army, went north to Carlisle, and reedified that city, and built a castle; and expelled Dolfin, who, before, was governor of that territory; and placed his men in the castle; and on his return to the south, sent thither a great multitude of English, with their wives and cattle, there to reside, and to cultivate that land.

MCXXII. Rex Henricus . . . intrans regiones ab Eboraco divertit versus mare occidentale, consideraturus civitatem antiquam quæ lingua Brittonum Cairleil dicitur, quæ nunc Carleol anglicè, Latinè, vero, Lugubalia appellatur, quam data pecunia castello, et turribus præcepit muniri.*

of Alward (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, I, 400), (*V.* S. Dunel.); a fourth, the son of Uthred, to whom in 1130 the prior and monks of Durham granted Staindrop (Lelands *Col.* I, 390). The former seems to be the one here meant. *Cospatricius frater Delphini* is named among the witnesses in the instrument of inquisition of the possessions of the church of Glasgow, in Cumberland, about the year 1118, printed in the appendix to sir James Dalrymples Collections, and elsewhere; and *Ulfus filius Dolfini* is, likewise, mentioned by Florence of Worcester, under the year 1065.

* S. Dunel. c. 246.

MCXXII. King Henry, . . entering the country from York, turned toward the western sea, to behold the ancient city which, in the language of the Britons, is called *Cairleil*, but which now, in English, is called Carlisle, and in Latin *Lugubalia*, and giving money, commanded it to be fortified with a castle and towers.

MCXXXII. Rex Henricus fecit episcopatum apud Carleolum, in limbo Angliæ et Galwalliæ, et posuit ibi primum episcopum, nomine Æthelulphum, sancti Oswaldi priorem, cui peccata sua solebat confiteri.*

MCXXXII. King Henry erected a bishopric at Carlisle, in the march of England and Galloway, and placed there [the] first bishop, Ethelwulph by name, prior of Saint Oswald, to whom he used to confess his sins.

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* M. West. p. 241. "Adulfus prior de Nostlia ad urbem *Karleol*, quam rex Henricus initiavit ad sedem episcopalem, datis sibi ecclesiis de *Cumberland* et *Westmerland*, quæ adjacuerunt archidiaconatui Eboracensi." (*Historia* J. prioris Hagustaldensis, c. 257.)

MCXXXVI. David rex Scotiæ . . . continuo insurrexit in regnum Angliæ, et citius munitiones Cumberlandiæ et Northimbriæ, cum populis adjacentibus optinuit usque Dunelmum, præter Babhanburch . . . Occurrit ei rex Stephanus . . . apud Dunelmum, ibi commoratus diebus xv. David quoque rex in Novo castello se recepit. Habita igitur collocutione de pace inter eos, Henricus filius regis Scotiæ, fecit homagium regi Stephano apud Eboracum, in augmentum honoris de Huntedundatis ei Dunecastra et Karleol.*

* J. prior Hagustaldensis, c. 258. "*David* rex Scotiæ in provincia Northanhymbrorum quinque oppida, scilicet, Lugubaliam, quod Anglicè *Carlel* dicitur, et *Carrum* quod ab Anglis *Werch* dicitur,* et *Alnwic*, et *Norham*, et Novum castellum, mox circa natale domini cum magno exercitu præoccupavit ac tenuit." (*Historia* R. prioris Hagustal. co. 312.) "Henricus filius *David* regis Scotiæ homagium Stephano regi apud Eboracum fecit. Deditque rex illi, cum consulatu patris sui, *Huntadun*, *Carlel*, et Donacastram, cum omnibus quæ ad ea pertinent." (*Ibi.*) "Stephanus rex, cum venisset in fine natalis domini ad *Oxenford*, audiyit nuncium dicentem sibi: Rex Scottorum simulans se pacificè venire ad te gratia hospitandi, veniens in *Karloil* et Novum castellum, dolosè cepit utraque: cui rex Stephanus: Quæ dolosè cepit victoriosè recipiam. Promovit rex impiger exercitum tantum erga *David* Scottorum regem, quantum nullus in Anglia fuisse memo-

* They are not one and the same place. See Armstrongs map of Northumberland.

Norhimbria et Cumbria redditæ sunt regi Scottorum David; sed statim pacificati sunt rex David et rex Stephanus, et Norhimbria reddita regi Stephano, et Cumbria regi David remansit.*

MCXXXVI. David, king of Scotland, rushed all at once into the kingdom of England, and soon took the strong places of Cumberland and Northumberland, with the neighbouring people, as far as Durham, except Bamburgh . . . King Stephen met him . . . at Durham, where he stayed fifteen days. King David, also, betook himself into New-

rare potuit. Occurrens igitur ei rex *David* circa Dunelmiam concordatus est, ei reddens Novum castellum, *Karloil* verò retinuit concessione regis Stephani." (H. Huntindoniensis, p. 387.) *Vide etiam* R. de Hoveden, p. 482.

" Northumbyrland and Cwmbyrland
Til the king Dawy of Scotland
War gyvyn agayne that ilke yhere:
And eftyr swne frendyt were
The kyng Dawy of Scotland
And Stewyn kyng than of Ingland;
Northwmbyrland be that trettè
Til Stewyn the kyng wes gyvyn fre;
Bot Cumbyrland all halyly
Remanyd wyth oure lord the kyng Dawy."

Wyntownis *Cronykil*, I, 298.

* *Chro. de Mailros.*

castle. A conference of peace being, therefore, had between them, Henry, son of the king of Scotland, did homage to king Stephen at York; Doncaster and Carlisle being given to him in augmentation of the honor of Huntingdon.

Northumberland and Cumberland were yielded to David king of the Scots; but straightway king David and king Stephen were pacified, and Northumberland yielded to king Stephen and Cumberland remained to king David.

MCXXXVIII. Rex David .... intrans in terram S. Cuthberti, ... ex ejus edicto Picti et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione ad eum convenerunt.*

MCXXXVIII. King David, entering into the land of St. Cuthbert (*i. e.* the bishopric of Durham), at his summons, the Picts and Cumbrians,

* R. prior Hagustal. co. 319. "[Post bellum de *Cutonmore*] per Northymbriam et Cumberland quarto die ante festum sancti Michaelis ad *Carlel* pervenit [W. Cumin regis Scotiæ cancellarius], ibique regem Scotiæ cum episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, baronibus, suæ terræ reperit." (*Ibi.*)

and men of Carlisle, and of the circumjacent country came together to him.

MCXLI. Henricus comes [filius regis Scotiæ] cum conjuge sua ad regem Angliæ profectus est. Insurrexit in inimicitias in eum Ranulfus comes Cestriæ, propter Karlel et Cumberland quam jure patrimonii sibi reposcebat, voluitque eum in reditu cum armata manu involvere. Rex vero reginæ precibus commonitus ab intentato periculo tutatim eum patri et patriæ restituit, transpositaque est indignatio hæc in insidias regiæ salutis.*

MCXLI. Earl Henry [son of the king of Scotland] came with his wife to the king of England. Randal, earl of Chester, rose in enmity against him, on account of Carlisle and Cumberland, which, by right of patrimony, he asked for himself; and wanted to entrap him in his return with an armed force. But the king, being moved by the prayers of the queen, restored him safe, from the threatened danger, to his father and country, and this indignation

* J. prior Hagustal. c. 268.

was transferred against the treachery of the royal help.

MCL. Henricus filius Galfridi comitis Andegaviæ et Adelæ [Matildis] imperatricis ad Pentecosten venit Karleol. Excepit eum rex David cum reverentia magna et sumptuosa præparatione opulentæ munificentiæ. Militiæ enim cingulo donavit eum, cooperantibus sibi Henrico filio suo et Ranulfo comite Cestriæ. Remisit autem idem Ranulfus indignationem qua Karleol sub patrimoniali jure reposcere consueverat, fecitque homagium eidem regi David. Convenit enim sermo inter eos ut pro Karlel haberet honorem de Lancastre; filiusque Ranulfi comitis ducturus foret uxorem unam de filiabus Henrici filii regis Scotiæ.*

* J. prior Hagustal. c. 277. (The proposed match did not take place; but, in 1190, David, brother of William king of Scotland, married [Maud] sister of Randal [Blundeville] earl of Chester [grand-son of the earl Randal here spoken of.] *Benedictus abbas*, p. 629.) "Aquilonalis regio, quæ in potestatem David regis Scottorum usque ad Tesyam cesserat, per ejusdem regis industriam in pace agebat, ad quem Henricus ex nepte ejus, id est Matilde olim imperatrice, Andegavensis comitis filius, et Angliæ rex futurus à matre missus jam pubes accessit: et ab eo ad Luguballiam (quæ vulgo *Car-*

MCL. Henry, the son of Geoffrey earl of Anjou, and of Adela [Maud] the empress, came at Whitsuntide to Carlisle. King David received him with great reverence, and the sumptuous preparation of opulent munificence. For he gave him the belt of knighthood; Henry his son, and Randal earl of Chester, assisting him. Now this Randal remitted the indignation with which he had been used to claim Carlisle, under the right of patrimony, and did homage to the same king David. For it was agreed between them in conversation that for Carlisle he should have the honour of Lancaster; and that the son of earl Randal should take to wife one of the daughters of Henry son of the king of Scotland.

MCLIII. Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus . . . querelam fecit apud Karleol regi David, super forestam suam quam vastaverunt homines regis qui operabantur in argentaria.*

leil dicitur) cingulum militare accepit, præstita prius (ut dicitur) cautione quod nulla parte terrarum, quæ in ejusdem regis ex Anglia ditionem transissent, ejus ullo tempore mutilaret hæredes." (W. Neubrigensis *Historia*, p. 75. *V. etiam Chronica* W. de Hemingford, *apud V. script.* p. 492.)

* J. prior Hagustal. c. 280.

MCLIII. Henry archbishop of York . . . made complaint at Carlisle to king David, on account of his forest, which the kings men who worked in a silver mine wasted.

MCLIV. David rex Scotiæ apud Karlel pressus infirmitate, ix. kal. Junii obiit.*

Regi Scottorum, qui aquilonales Angliæ regiones, scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Westmeriam, nomine Matildis dictæ imperatricis et heredis, ejus olim à David Scottorum rege adquisitas, tanquam jus proprium possidebat, mandare curavit [rex Henricus]; Regem Angliæ tanta regni sui parte non debere fraudari, nec posse patienter mutilari, justum esse reddi quod suo fuisset nomine adquisitum. Ille vero prudenter considerans regem Angliæ in hac parte cum potentia virium merito causæ præstare, quamvis posset ostendere juramentum quod avo suo David præstitisse dicebatur, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare, prænominatos fines repetenti cum integritate restituit,

* Idem, c. 281. The church of Hexham had certain charters, whereby "David rex Scotiæ, et Henricus filius ejus, dederunt eis unum mansum in *Carlel*, et in eadem villa aliud mansum." R. prior Hagustal. c. 307.

et ab eo vicissim comitatum Huntedunensem prisco jure sibi competentem recepit.*

MCLIV. David, king of Scotland, oppressed with infirmity, died at Carlisle, the 9th of the calends of June (24th of May.)

King Henry took care to send to the king of Scots, who possessed the northern regions of England, to wit, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, formerly acquired by David king of the Scots, in the name of Maud called the empress and her heir, as his own right: That the king of England ought not to be defrauded, nor could patiently be mutilated of such a part of his realm, and that it was just that what had been acquired in his name should be restored. Now he, prudently considering the king of England, in this respect, to supply the merit of his cause with the power of his forces, although he could have shown the oath which he was said to have taken to his grandfather David, when he received from him the belt of knighthood, restored the beforenamed boundaries to him who demanded them, and from him, in re-

* W. Neubrigensis *Historia*, p. 115.

turn, received the county of Huntingdon, desirable to him of ancient right.

MCLVII. Henricus rex Anglorum transfretavit in Angliam, et Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei civitatem Carleol, castrum Baenburg, Novum castrum super Tinam, et comitatum Lodonensem.*

MCLVII. Henry, king of the English, passed over into England, and Malcolm king of the Scots delivered up to him the city of Carlisle, the castle of Bamburgh, New-castle upon Tyne, and the county of Lothian.

MCLVIII. Rex Angliæ Henricus et Malcolmus rex Scottorum apud Carlel convenerunt, sed non

* R. de Diceto, c. 531. *V. etiam* M. West. p. 247. "Rex Henricus, fortuna sibi gratius arridente, regem Scotorum sic arctavit, ut omnes terras Aquilonares scil. *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, et *Westmerland*, quas tempore hostilitatis injuste occupaverat, resignaret." (*Chro.* T. Wikes, p. 30.)

bene pacificati ab invicem discesserunt, ideoque rex Scottorum non adhuc miles factus est.*

MCLVIII. Henry king of England and Malcolm king of Scots met at Carlisle, but they departed from each other not perfectly reconciled; and therefore the king of Scots was not yet made a knight.

MCLXXIII. Rex Scottorum [Willielmus] agnito, quantum rex Anglorum [Henricus] in Normannia laboraret, cum gentis barbaræ et sitientis sanguinem immanissimis copiis Anglorum fines ingressus, civitatem Carduliensem obsidione circumdedit totamque adjacentem provinciam cædibus et rapinis fœdavit.†

MCLXXIII. The king of Scots [William] being apprised how much the king of the English [Henry] was distressed in Normandy, with most incredible numbers of a barbarous and blood-thirsty people, having entered the borders of the English,

* *Chro. de Mailros.* He received this honour from the hand of Henry, at Tours, in the following year.

† W. Neubrigensis, p. 205, 707

laid siege to the city of Carlisle, and polluted all the adjacent province with slaughter and rapine.

MCLXXIV. Rex Scotiæ cum exercitu suo obsedit Carleolum, quod Rodbertus de Vallis in custodia habuit: et cum per paucos dies ibi moram fecisset, dimisit ibi partem exercitus sui circa castellum, et ipse cum reliqua parte exercitus sui ivit per Northumbriam...Et postea rediit ad exercitum suum quem dimisit circa Carleolum, et tamdiu ibi moram fecit, donec Rodbertus de Vallis, victu sibi et burgensibus, qui intus erant deficiente, cum eo pacem fecit in hunc modum, quod, ad festum sancti Michaelis sequens, redderet ei castellum et villam Carleoli, nisi interim haberet succursum à domino rege Angliæ: et super hoc fecit ipse regem Scotiæ securum fide et sacramentis et obsidibus.*

MCLXXIV. The king of Scotland, with his army, besieged Carlisle, which Robert de Vallis had

* Benedictus abbas, p. 74. In the circuits for the judges of assise, 1176, *Eboracessire*, *Richemundesire*, *Cowpelanda*, *Westmuilanda*, *Northimberlanda*, and *Cumberlanda*, are allot-

in custody. And when he had stayed there for a few days, he left part of his army there about the castle, and he himself, with the rest of his army, went through Northumberland...And afterward he returned to his army, which he had left about Carlisle, and stayed there so long, till Robert de Vallis, provisions for himself and the burgesses who were within failing, made peace with him after this manner, that, at the feast of St Michael following, he would render up to him the castle and town of Carlisle, unless, in the meantime, he should have succour from his lord the king of England: And hereupon he himself made the king of Scotland secure by faith, and oaths, and hostages.

MCXCIII. Quinta die mensis Aprilis rex Angliæ et rex Scotiæ venerunt ad Maltonam, ubi rex Scotiæ petiit à rege Angliæ dignitates et honores quos prædecessores sui habuerunt in Anglia. Petiit etiam comitatum Northumbriæ et Cumberland

ted to Robert de Vallis, Randal de Glanvilla, and Robert Pikenot; which clearly proves that all those provinces must have been equally in the peace and jurisdiction of the king of England.

et Westmerland, et comitatum de Loncastre sibi reddi de jure prædecessorum suorum. Cui rex respondet, se satisfacturum ei per consilium comitum et baronum suorum.*

MCXCIII. On the fifth day of April, the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Malton, where the king of Scotland demanded from the king of England the dignities and honours which his predecessors had in England. He demanded also the county of Northumberland, and Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the county of Lancaster, to be restored to him of the right of his predecessors: To whom the king answered, that he would satisfy him by the counsel of his earls and barons.

MCCLXXV. Rex Willielmus cognomine bastardus, dux Normanniæ, conquestor Angliæ, dedit totam terram de comitatu Cumbriæ Ranulpho de Meschines, et Galfrido [*rectius*, Hugoni] fratri ejusdem Ranulphi totum comitatum Cestriæ, et

* R. de Hoveden, p. 736.

Willielmo * fratri eorum terram de Copland, inter Duden et Darwent. Ranulphus de Meschines feoffavit Hubertum de Vaux, de baronia de Gillesland, et Ranulphum fratrem ejus de Sowerby, Carlaton, et Habbrughtly, et Robertum fratrem eorundem, de baronia de Dalston, et feoffavit Robertum de Strivers de baronia de Burgo, et Richerum de Boyvile, de baronia de Lemyngton, et Odardum de Logis, de baronia de Staynton, et feoffavit Waldevum filium Cospatricii de Dunbar, comitem in Scotia, de tota baronia de Allerdale, inter Wathenpole et Derwent. Predictus Willielmus de Meschines, dominus de Coupland, feoffavit Waldevum filium Cospatricii de tota terra inter Cocar et Derwent, simul cum quinque villis, scilicet, Brigham, Eglysfeld, Dene, Bramthwaite, Gisothon, et duo Cliftons, et Stainburne, et feoffavit Odardum le Clerke de quarta parte de Crostwhait pro custodia asturcorum suorum. Galfridus [r. Hugo] de Meschines comes Cestriæ, obiit sine hærede de corpore suo, et Ranulphus de Meschines fuit comes Cestriæ, et reddidit domino regi totum comitatum Cumbriæ, tali conditione ut singuli feoffati sui tenuissent terras suas de domino rege

* Fundator de Wederhall. King Henry the first gave him the castle of Egremont.

in capite. Prædictus Waldevus filius comitis Cospatricii feoffavit Odardum de Logis de baronia de Wygton, Dondragt, Waverton, Blencogo, et Kirkebrid, qui fundavit ecclesiam de Wigton, et dedit Odardo filio Liolfe, Talentire, et Castlerige, cum foresta inter Caltre, et Greca; et priori et conventui de Gisburne,* Appleton, et Briorkirke, cum advocatione ejusdem ecclesiæ: et dedit Adæ, filio Liolfe, Uldell [et] Gilcruce: et dedit Gamello, filio Brun, Bothill: et dedit Waldevo, filio Gileminii, cum Ethreda, sorore sua, Broughton, Ribton, et parvam Broughton, et Dunwaldofe ac Bowaldofe, ad unam logeam: et dedit Ormo, filio Ketelli, Seton, Camberton, Flemingbi, [et] Craiksothon, cum Gurwelder, sorore sua; et Dolfino, filio Alwardi, cum Matilda sorore sua, Applethwaite, et parva Crosby, Langrige, et Brigham, cum advocatione ejusdem ecclesiæ: et dedit Melbeth, medico suo, villam de Bromefield, salva sibi advocatione ejusdem ecclesiæ. Alanus, filius et hæres ejusdem Waldevi, dedit Ranulpho Lyndesey, Blenerhasset, et Uckmanby, cum Etheldreda sorore sua: et dedit Ugthredo,† filio Fergus, domino Galwediæ, cum Guynolda sorore sua, Torpenhow, cum advocatione

* This priory was founded in 1129.

† Murdered 1174.

ecclesiæ: et dedit Catello Despenser Threpland: et dedit Hereberto villam de Thoresby, pro tertia parte unius villæ: et dedit Cospatricio, filio Ormi, altam Ireby, pro tertia parte unius villæ: et dedit Gamello le Brun Rugthwaite: et dedit Radulpho Engaine Issaell, cum pertinentiis, Blencrakern, cum servitio de Newton: et idem Alanus habuit unum fratrem bastardum, nomine Cospatricium, cui dedit Bolton, Bastinthwaite, et Esterholme: et dedit tribus venatoribus suis, scilicet, Sleth, et sociis suis Hayton: et dedit Uctredo unam carucatam terræ in Aspatrike, ut esset summonitor in Allerdale: et dedit Dolfino sex bovatas terræ in alta Crosby, ut esset serviens domini regis in Allerdale: et dedit Simoni de Sheffelyngs medietatem de Derom, et Dolfino, filio Cospatricii, aliam medietatem: et dedit Waldevo, filio Dolfini, Brakanthwaite: et dedit prioratui S. Begæ* Stainburne: et dedit prioratui Karlioli,† cum corpore Waldevi, filii sui, crucem sanctam quam adhuc possident, et Crosby, cum advocatione ejusdem ecclesiæ, et cum servicio Uctredi, et advocatione ecclesiæ de Aspatrike, cum servicio Alani de Brayton, cum advocatione ecclesiæ de Ireby,

* Founded by Randal de Meschines, in the time of Henry the first.

† Begun by Walter, a priest, finished and endowed by Henry.

cum servicio Waldevi de Longthwaite. Idem Alanus filius Waldevi dedit domino Henrico regi landas forestæ de Allerdale, una cum venatione quando hospitavit apud Holmcoltrane : cui Alano successit Wilielmus filius Doncani, comes de Murrayse, nepos ipsius Alani et hæres, procreatus ex Ethreda, sorore Waldevi patris sui. Idem Wilielmus filius Doncani desponsavit Aliciam, filiam Roberti de Romeli, domini de Skipton in Craven : qui Robertus quondam desponsaverat filiam William de Meschinis, domini de Coupland. Idem Willielmus procreavit ex eadem Alicia, uxore sua, Wilielmum puerum de Egremund, qui infra ætatem obiit, et tres filias : quarum prima nomine Cecilia maritata fuit, cum honore de Skipton, Willielmo le Grossus, comiti Albemarliæ, per dominum Henricum regem Angliæ. Item secunda, nomine Amabilla, maritata fuit Reginaldo de Lucy, cum honore de Egremund, per eundem regem : et tertia, nomine Alicia, maritata fuit Gilberto Pipard, cum Aspatrike, et baronia de Allerdale, et libertate de Cokermouth, per eundem regem ; et, iterum, per reginam, Roberto de Courtenay, et obiit sine hærede. Willielmus Grossus, comes Albemarliæ, genuit, ex ea, Ceciliam, et Hawysiam : Cui successit Willielmus de Fortibus : comes Albemarliæ : cui successit alter Willielmus de Fortibus : cui successit Avelina,

quæ fuit desponsata Edmondo fratri domini regis E. et obiit sine herede, &c.* Reginaldus de Lucy genuit, ex Amabilla, Amabillam et Aliciam ;† et successit Amabillæ Lambertus de Multon :‡ cui successit Thomas de Multon de Egremond :‖ et successit Aliciæ Thomas de Lucy ; cui successit Thomas filius ejus ; cui successit Antonius filius ejus.§

* She died in 1269, being the year of her marriage. King Edward succeeded his father in 1272.

† Amabil and Alice were the daughters of Richard (son of Reginald) de Lucy, by Ada, daughter of Hugh de Morvil.

‡ 1244.

‖ Died 1271.

§ *Cronicon Cumbriæ, ex registro de Wederhale, apud* Monasticon Anglicanum, I, 400. This account, which appears to have been written soon after the accession of Edward the first, is very inaccurate. In the first place, there never was an earl of Chester named *Geoffrey*, much less *Geoffrey de Meschines ;* secondly, Hugh Lupus, to whom William the conqueror actually granted the earldom and county of Chester (who, by the way, was only brother-in-law to Randal de Meschines), left a son Richard, who was drowned at sea in 1119 ; and, upon his death it was, that Randal de Meschines, *alias* de Bricasard, succeeded to that earldom, by right of inheritance, being the son of Randal de Meschines, by Maud, the sister of Hugh Lupus. (See Leycesters *Historical Antiquities*, p. 118.) It cannot, therefore, be relied on, and was by no means a sufficient authority for Camden, who makes use of it in the edition of 1695, p. 845.

MCCLXXV. King William, surnamed the bastard, duke of Normandy, conqueror of England, gave the whole land of the county of Cumberland to Randal de Meschines, and to 'Hugh,' the brother of the same Randal, the whole county of Chester, and to William their brother the land of Coupland, between Duden and Derwent. Randal de Meschines enfeoffed Hubert de Vaux of the barony of Gilliesland, and Randal his brother of Sowerby, Carlaton, and Habbrughtly, and Robert their brother of the barony of Dalston, and enfeoffed Robert de Strivers of the barony of Burgh, and Richard de Boyvile of the barony of Lemyngton, and Odard of Logis of the barony of Staynton, and enfeoffed Waldeve, the son of Cospatric, of Dunbar, earl in Scotland, of the whole barony of Allerdale, between Wathenpole and Derwent. The aforesaid William de Meschines, lord of Coupland, enfeoffed Waldeve, son of Cospatric, of the whole land between Coker and Derwent, together with five vills, namely, Brigham, Eglysfield, Dene, Bramthwaite, Gisothen, and two Cliftons, and Stainburne, and enfeoffed Odard le Clerk of the fourth part of Crostwhait, for the custody of his hawks. Hugh de Meschines, earl of Cheshire, died without heir of his body, and Randal de Meschines was earl of Chester, and rendered to the lord the king the whole county of Cumberland, by

this condition that all his feoffees should hold their lands of the lord the king in fee. The aforesaid Waldeve, the son of earl Cospatric, enfeoffed Odard de Logis of the barony of Wigton, Dondragt, Waverton, Blencogo, and Kirkebri, who founded the church of Wigton, and gave to Odard, son of Liolfe, Talentine, and Castle-ridge; and to the prior and convent of Gisburne, Appleton, and Briorkirke, with the advowson of the same church: and gave to Ada, son of Liolfe, Uldell, and Gilcruce: and gave to Gamel, son of Brun, Bothill: and gave to Waldeve, son of Gilemini, with Ethelreda, his sister, Broughton, Ribton, and Little Broughton, and Dunwaldofe and Bowaldofe, to a lodge: and gave to Orm, son of Ketel, Seton, Camberton, Flemingbi, and Craiksothon, with Gurweld, his sister; and to Dolfin, son of Alward, with Maud, his sister, Applethwaite, and Little Crosby, Lang-ridge, and Brigham, with the advowson of the same church: and gave to Melbeth his physician, the vill of Bromefield, saving to him the advowson of the same church. Alan, son and heir of the same Waldeve, gave to Randal Lyndesey, Blenerhasset, and Uckmanby, with Ethelreda, his sister; and gave to Ugthred, son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, with Guynolda, his sister, Torpenhow, with the advowson of the church: and gave to Catel Despenser

Threpland: and gave to Herbert the vill of Thoresby, for the third part of a vill: and gave to Cospatric, son of Orm, High-Ireby, for the third part of a vill: and gave to Gamel le Brun Rugthwaite: and gave to Ralph Engaine Issaell, with the appurtenances, Blencrakern, with the service of Newton: and the same Alan had a bastard brother, by name Cospatric, to whom he gave Bolton, Bastinthwaite, and Esterholme: and gave to his three huntsmen, namely, Sleth, and to his fellows Hayton: and gave to Uctred a carucate of land in Aspatrike, that he [might be] summoner in Allerdale: and gave to Dolfin six oxgangs of land in High Crosby, that he might be sergeant of the lord the king in Allerdale: and gave to Simon de Sheffelyngs a moiety of Derom, and to Dolfin, son of Cospatric, the other moiety: and gave to Waldeve, son of Dolfin, Brakanthwaite: and gave to the priory of saint Bees, Stainburne: and gave to the priory of Carlisle, with the body of Waldeve, his son, the holy cross, which they yet possess, and Crosby, with the advowson of the same church, and with the service of Uctred, and the advowson of the church of Aspatrike, with the service of Allan of Brayton, with the advowson of the church of Ireby, with the service of Waldeve of Longthwaite. The same Alan, son of Waldeve, gave to the lord Henry the king the lands of the

forest of Allerdale, together with right of hunting when he lodged at Holmcultram: to which Allan succeeded William, son of Duncan, earl of Murray, nephew and heir of that Allan, begotten of Ethreda, sister of Waldeve his father. The same William, son of Duncan, espoused Alice, daughter of Robert de Romeli, lord of Skipton in Craven: which Robert had formerly espoused, the daughter of William de Meschines, lord of Coupland. The same William begot of the same Alice, his wife, a boy, William of Egremont, who died under age, and three daughters: of whom the first, by name Cecilia, was married, with the honor of Skipton, to William le Gross, earl of Albemarle, by the lord Henry king of England. Also, the second, by name Amabel, was married to Reginald de Lucy with the honor of Egremont, by the same king: and the third, by name Alice, was married to Gilbert Pipard with Aspatrike; and the barony of Allerdale, and the liberty of Cockermouth, by the same king; and again, by the queen to Robert de Courteney, and died without an heir. William the gross, earl of Albemarle, begot of her Cicily, and Hawys: to whom succeeded William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle: to whom succeeded another William de Fortibus: to whom succeeded Aveline, who was espoused to Edmund, brother of the lord

king Edward, and died without an heir, &c. Reginald de Lucy begot of Amabel, Amabel and Alice; and succeeded to Amabel Lambert de Multon: to whom succeeded Thomas de Multon de Egremont: and succeeded to Alice Thomas de Lucy; to whom succeeded Thomas his son; to whom succeeded Anthony his son.

APPENDIX.

KINGS OF CUMBERLAND.

919.
934. } Ewen, or Owen, son of Donald.*
938.

945. Malcolm, king of Scotland.

947. Donald.

970. Malcolm, son of Donald, died in 997.†

* This *Ewen* may, possibly, have been the son of Donald III, king of Scotland, who succeeded in 894, and died in 944; and there were two Ewens in 719 and 736. Owen, however, seems rather a Welsh name, though Donald is Scotish. Donald MacAlpin, or the 2d, king of Scotland, reigned in 858. Fulman, who published "*Rerum Anglicarum scriptores veteres*," Ox. 1684, fo. dates the battle of Brunanburgh in 948 (p. 37).

† Malcolm I, king of Scotland, slain in 955, was the son of Donald III, already named; so that, though not the same sovereigns, Donald and Malcolm, kings of Cumberland, might be descended from the Scotish race.

1031. Duncan, father of Malcolm Canmore ?*

* Duncan, slain by Macbeth, son of Crinan, by Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm I. It is impossible to ascertain how or when he became king of *Cumbria;* neither does William of Malmesbury, nor any other ancient English historian mention the name of Duncan. Mr. Pinkerton, who says that "Duncan, grandson of Malcolm II, was put in possession of Cumberland by him, before his death," quotes "*Wil. Malms.*" but, in fact, Fordun is the only historian who mentions that circumstance. (See *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, II, 203.) In a subsequent page (220) he again cites this respecttable monk, as asserting, "that Malcolm only permitted Duncan, his *grandson* and heir, who was possessed of Cumberland, to pay homage for that province;" adding, that "this plain account sufficiently refutes the usurpative style of the Saxon chronicle." This, however, is a misrepresentation; in point of fact, William of Malmesbury never once names either *Malcolm* or *Duncan*. The enquirer also asserts that "Duncan, father of Malcolm, was married to a *daughter* (more likely to a *sister*) of Siward, AS ALL AGREE," (II, 204). In fact, however, no one writer mentions such a marriage, except Fordun, who neither mentions *daughter*, OR *sister*, but expressly calls this pretended wife "CONSANGUINEA *Sywardi comitis*," (L. 4, c. 44, *editione* Hearnii).

To complete his absurdity, he pretends that Malcolm III, king of Scotland, son of Duncan, was his *grandson*, by another *Duncan*, also king of Cumberland, a nonentity of his own imagination.

Annals of Galloway.

INTRODUCTION.

THE province of Galloway,* in ancient times, that is, in, and before the twelfth or eleventh century, comprehended, not only the modern shire of that name (now the stewartry of Kircudbright), but several others, in its neighbourhood; those, for instance, of Wigton, Annandirdale, Kyle, and Cuningham, if not also Renfrew, Clydesdale, Teviot-

* This name is generally thought to have been attributed by the Irish; in whose language, according to mr. Pinkerton, "*Gall* implies an alien; as the Galwegians," he says, "long an independent people, were to the present Scots. It is observable," he adds, "that, in Galway of Ireland, there were also Cruthens or Piks." (*Enquiry*, I, 337.) It would, therefore, seem to require a different etymology. *Gall*, with the ancient Irish, certainly implied foreigners, as, in the Ulster Annals, the Danes are called, *the black* galls (*Dubh-gall*), and the English, *the white* galls (*Fin-gall*). The Picts, however, were no foreigners, at the time this name is supposed to have been given, in the eye of the Scots; the two nations having been familiarly connected for many centuries preceding.

dale, Nithisdale, and others; all which appear to have been occasionally taken out of it.* Galloway, and Lothian, seem, at that period, to have included the whole of that part of Scotland which lies to the south of the two firths, of Clyde and Forth.† It appears, likewise, to have been then looked upon as distinct from Scotland, and to have had a government, laws, and customs, peculiar to itself.‡ That this province was, at least, part of the seat of the southern Picts is an incontrovertible fact, for which we have, amongst others, the express testimony of venerable Bede.§ Even so late as the twelfth cen-

* See Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 160, sir J. Dalrymples *Collections*, p. 217, and D. Macphersons *Geographical illustrations.* In an old charter, Irvin is said to be in Galloway. (Pinkertons *Enquiry*, I, 330; quotes Goodalls *Intro.* to *Fordun*, c. 10; Dalrymples *Annals*, an. 1160.) "The Galweienses *vel* Picti," he says, "reached from Solway to the frith of Clyde." (*Ibi.* 200).

† Innes, *Critical Essay*, p. 160.

‡ *Idem, ibi.* The kings of Scotland, in the twelfth century, usually addressed their charters, "Francis et Anglicis, Scotis et *Galwensibus*, et Walensibus;" having, actually, so many nations or people among their subjects. (*Ibi.* p. 38.)

§ B. 4, c. 26. See, also, *The Annals of the Picts.* Saint Constantine, king of Cornwall, went into Galloway to preach the gospel to the Picts and Scots, and was martyred in Kentyre about 570. See his life in the *Acta SS.* 11 *Martii.* This anecdote, however, is liable to suspicion: the Picts and Scots, in the sixth century, were as good christians as the Britons,

tury, its inhabitants, though mixed, at that time, it is probable, with invaders, were still distinguished by this appellation; and Joceline, a monk of Furness, about the year 1118, expressly calls Galloway the country of the Picts: "*Pictorum* patria, quæ modo *Galwethia* dicitur:"* as Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, calls the bishop of Glasgow, "*Pictorum* episcopus."

To the early history of this province, anterior to the year 1100, we are almost total strangers. The government, at that period, was in the hands of a powerful Irish family, surnamed Macdonall (subject, it is presumed, to the feudal superiority of the Scotish, or English, crown), which continued to rule, with incessant disturbance, barbarity, and bloodshed, for near a century and a half: but the origin and descent of Fergus, the first prince or lord

and would hardly, therefore, have put to death a missionary who came to preach their own dogmas.

* *Vita S. Kentegerni*, c. 34. Girald Barry asserts that the Picts, having taken their wives from Ireland, which they could not have from the Britons, enticed the Irish nation into alliance with them, and granted them the maritime part of the land they had seized, near to their own country, where the sea is narrow, and it is called Galloway (Galweidia), to inhabit. (*Liber distinct.* Julius, B. xiii.) This writer, by the way, is no more to be credited than Geoffrey of Monmouth.

of this family upon record, are, at present, beyond the reach of enquiry.

The most ancient inhabitants of these parts, during the predominance of the Roman arms, were the Novantæ, or Novantes, whose principal city was Leucopibia, afterward Candida casa, and, in Saxon, as in old English, Whithern (a name the site still preserves); all three signifying *The white house. The mull of Galloway,* now in the shire of Wigton, was then termed the *Novantum chersonesus.* The æra of the original settlement of the Picts, effected, no doubt, by conquering, and driving out, the old British inhabitants, as had been already the case in the north, is altogether uncertain; but had probably taken place long before the year 400. Their more early history, however, is confusedly blended with that of the other Picts; no distinct series of the Pictish monarchs having been preserved, or being now possible to frame.

The primitive language of the southern, or Galloway, Picts seems to have yielded, at an early period, to that of their Irish invaders; no ancient author, however minute in his description of their barbarous manners, ever noticing any peculiarity in this respect. The *patrio sermone* of Buchanan was, unquestionably, Irish, there being no other language than that, and the English, spoken in

Scotland even in the time of Fordun, to his knowledge. So well warranted was Henry of Huntingdon, about the year 1138 in his assertion, that the language of the Picts was then totally destroyed.* It has, indeed, been pretended, that "The *wild Scots of Galloway* [a proverbial expression], who spoke Irish, were a colony permitted to settle there in the *fifteenth* century, while a constant intercourse, and mutual aid, prevailed between Scotland and the north of Ireland. They are unmentioned before that time; and have nothing to do with the old Galwegians:"† but this assertion is made without the slightest voucher or authority.

* "The speech of Galloway," according to mr. Pinkerton, "has in general a good deal of the Welch accent, which is vulgarly thought the Irish; for the Celtic dialects," he adds, "are much the same" (*Enquiry*, I, 81): so that it may be Irish after all. He elsewhere says that "The rest of that vast tract, anciently called Galloway, speak the *broad Scotish*, or *Piko-Gallic*" (*Ibi.* 337)!

† *Critical review*, for January, 1795, p. 51.

ANNALS OF GALLOWAY.

ANNALES GALLOVIDIENSES.

DCCCCXXI. Rex Scotorum, Reginaldus rex Northanhumbrorum ex natione Danorum, [et] dux Galwalensium, ad regem Eadwardum venientes, subjectionem fecerunt, et cum eo fœdus firmissimum pepigerunt.*

ANNALS OF GALLOWAY.

DCCCCXXI. The king of Scots, Reginald, king of the Northumbrians, of the nation of the Danes, and the earl of the Galwegians, coming to king Edward, made subjection, and entered into the most firm league with him.

DCCCCXXIV. Rex Anglorum Eadwardus, cognomento senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incolenti-

* Mat. West., Flo. Wigor., and S. Dunel. more ancient writers, have "Rex etiam *Streatgledwalorum* and *Stredædunalorum*" [*l. Stredcledunalorum*].

bus Anglorum, Walanorum, Scotorum, Cumbrorum, Galwalensium, Danorum, populis potenter præfuit .... diem clausit extremum.*

DCCCCXXIV. Edward, king of the English, surnamed the elder, who powerfully presided over all the people inhabiting Britain, of the Welsh, Scots, Cumbrians, Galwegians, and Danes, closed his last day.

MXCVIII. Magnus rex Norwegiæ ... Galwedienses ita constrixit, ut cogeret eos materias lignorum cædere, et ad littus portare, ad munitiones construendas.

MXCVIII. Magnus, king of Norway, so bridled the Galwegians, that he compelled them to cut

* *Idem.* Perhaps, in both instances, it should have been *Stretgludwalensium*, or the like: no other ancient English author ever mentioning the Galwegians, at so early a period. The same writer, among the eight petty sovereigns, who rowed king Edgars barge up and down the river Dee, in 974, names "*Jacobo rege* Galwalliæ," by whom, also, he, probably, intended, Strath-Clyde, if, in fact, that kingdom had then existence.

down timber, and carry it to the shore, for the construction of fortresses.

MCII. Olavus, filius Godredi Crouan [rex Manniæ] accepit in uxorem Affricam filiam Fergusii de Galewedia, de qua genuit Godredum.*

MCII. Olave, son of Godred Crouan, king of Man, took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergus of Galloway, on whom he begat Godred.

MCXXXVIII. Willielmus filius Dunecan nepos David regis [Scotiæ] cum parte exercitus ipsius David castellum quod Carrum† dicitur in terra regis Angliæ antelucanis insidiis invasit, deprædataque circumquaque regione, illud expugnare cœpit. Deinde ipse rex cum Henrico filio suo et cum majore exercitu illuc adveniens, et omnium virium suarum conatus explorans, balistis et aliis machinis et variis assultibus oppidum expugnare

* *Chro. regum Manniæ.*

† Near Wark, in Northumberland.

aggressus est, ac deinde illud iii. ebdomadis obsedit. Sed nihil profecit, immo deo auxiliante omnis ejus conatus in contrarium illi conversus est.... Cernens autem rex laborem suum illic cassari, et sibi suisque grave dampnum de die in diem crescere, indignatione et ira inflammatus, tandem oppido relicto ad Northymbriam devastandam cum omni multitudine sua properavit. Igitur ille detestandus exercitus, omni paganorum genere atrocior, nec deo nec hominibus reverentiam deferens, tota provincia deprædata, utriusque sexus cujusque ætatis et conditionis homines passim trucidavit, villas, ecclesias, domos destruxit, spoliavit, accendit. Namque languentes in grabatis, ac mulieres prægnantes et parturientes, et in cunis infantes, et alios innocentes inter ubera et in sinibus matrum suarum cum ipsis matribus, et decrepitos senes et defectas anus et cæteros qualibet occasione debiles, ubicunque inveniebant, in ore gladii trucidaverunt, vel lanceis suis confixerunt. Et quanto miserabiliore mortis genere illos disperdere poterant, tanto plus gratulabantur...Coadunatus autem erat iste nefandus exercitus de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbranis et Cumbris, de Teswetadala, et Lodonea, de PICTIS, qui vulgo GALLEWEIENSES dicuntur, et Scottis; nec erat qui eorum numerum sciret....Igitur per provinciam discurrentes et nemini parcentes....

fere totam Northymbriam usque ad Tinam fluvium ... ferro et flamma vastaverunt ... In hac autem procellosæ tempestatis rabie illud nobile monasterium Haugustaldense, quamvis in medio concursu et quasi in via illius nefandi exercitus et supradictorum malorum situm undique ab eis coangustaretur, tamen ... deo auxiliante, suis et omnibus ad illud refugientibus pacem firmissimam exhibuit, et omnibus illis contra omnes hostiles impetus tutissimum asilum extitit. Verumptamen primo Picti ad Tinam fluvium juxta eandem villam fluentem cum maximo impetu irruentes, ipsam sicut et alia destruere proposuerant. Sed mox antequam prædictum amnem transirent, à compatriotis duo de numero illorum sunt interfecti. Quod cæteri cernentes, exterriti retrorsum abierunt. Præterea duo de eadem gente Pictorum devenerunt ad quoddam oratorium sancti Michaelis archangeli ex eadem boreali parte Tinæ fluminis situm, quod ad prædictam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam pertinebat. Frangentes igitur ejus hostium, quod ibi repererunt secum abstulerunt. Sed vindicta dei non defuit. Nam mox dæmoni traditi, sensu privantur, et prout furor illos exagitabat, in conspectu omnium per nemora et rura nocte et die passim discurrentes, alter ipse sibi os primo lapidibus conterens, deinde à quodam abscisis femoribus, alter seipsum in Tina submergens, uterque

miserabiliter utraque morte dampnati perierunt... Interea circa purificationem S. Mariæ Stephanus rex Angliæ .... cum maximo exercitu equitum et peditum venit. Quod ubi rex Scotiæ cognovit, relicta Northymbria, cum exercitu suo ad terram suam properavit...Verum peracta paschali sollempnitate, mox in proxima ebdomada feria vj. Sæpe dictus rex Scotiæ cum nefando exercitu suo iterum in Northumbriam rediit,...ac deinde maximam partem terræ S. Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dunelmum et mare, non minore furore et crudelitate quam supradictum est destruxit .... Sed sanctus Cuthbertus tandem suorum misertus est. Nam dum sui hæc agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud procul à Dunelmo perhendinabat. Ubi gravi seditione propter quandam feminam orta, Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur. Quo pavore dum valde anxiaretur, ecce falso rumore divulgatur magnum exercitum de Suthanglia adventare. Igitur cibis suis relictis qui tunc parati erant, nemine persequente versus terram suam cum omnibus suis fugit, et ad oppidum de Northam .... divertit, illudque obsidens, variis modis et machinis expugnare et capere temptavit. Dumque ibi in obsidione moraretur, Willielmum filium Dunecan nepotem suum cum Pictis et parte exercitus sui in expeditionem ad Eboracensem scyram transmisit. Quo

pervenientes et propter peccata populi victoriam optinentes, possessiones cujusdam nobilis cœnobii quod in Suthernessa situm est, et provinciam quæ Crafna dicitur, ex magna parte ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Igitur nulli gradui, nulli tæati,* nulli sexui, nulli conditioni parcentes, liberos et cognatos in conspectu parentum suorum, et dominos in conspectu servorum suorum et è converso, et maritos ante oculos uxorum suarum quanto miserabilius poterant prius trucidaverunt, deinde, proh dolor! solas nobiles matronas et castas virgines mixtis cum aliis feminis et cum præda pariter abduxerunt. Nudatas quoque et turmatim reticulis

* Parvuli jactati in aera, et aculeis lancearum excepti delectabile spectaculum Galwensibus præbuerunt; prægnans mulier per medium secabatur, tener fœtus extractus ab utero, impia manu ad saxum allidebatur. Lassati innocentium cæde, illotis cultellis quibus miserorum effuderant viscera, carnes quas vorarent incidebant, humanumque sanguinem miscentes aqua, crudeli poculo sitim sedabant, dicentes se felicissimos quos in illud tempus fortuna servaverat quo Gallorum [i. e. Normannorum] sanguinem bibere potuissent. Casu inventi sunt in eadem domo plures parvuli. Stabat Galwensis, et unum post unum utroque pede arripiens caput allidebat ad postem. Quos cum in unum coegisset acervum, ridens versus socium, *ecce*, inquit, *quot hodie Gallos solus occidi.* Ethelredus abbas Rievallis *de bello standardii.* co. 341. (*Oratio* Walteri Espec.)

et corrigiis colligatas et copulatas lanceis et telis suis compungentes, ante se illas abegerunt .... Deinde illis cum præda dispartitis, quidam eorum misericordia commoti aliquas ex eis ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ in Carlel liberas tradiderunt. Verum Picti, et multi alii, illasque eis obvenerunt secum ad patriam suam duxerunt. Denique illi bestiales homines adulterium et incestum ac cetera scelera pro nichilo ducentes, postquam more brutorum animalium illis miserrimis abuti pertæsi sunt, eas vel sibi ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendiderunt*.... Rex igitur David, duobus tegnionibus, id est baronibus suis, cum gente eorum obsidione Carrum commendata, cum maxima parte sui exercitus ad oppidum quod Bahanburg dicitur profectus est .... Intransque in terram S. Cuthberti, quæ nondum ad eum venerat sui exercitus partem expectavit. Nec mora, ex ejus edicto Picti, et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel, et de circumjacente regione ad illum convenerunt. Congregato igitur toto exercitu suo, quia nimius et insuperabilis ei videbatur, revera enim grandi erat, plusquam xxvj. milia hominum habens, nimio exultavit

* Hoc bellum factum est inter Anglos, Pictos et Scottos apud Clitherhou feria vj. die XV. ante nativitatem sancti Johannis baptistæ, anno ... M. C. xxxviij. (J. prior Hagustaldensis, co. 261.)

gaudio . . . . His autem infra octabas nativitatis sanctæ Mariæ ita gestis, rex cum suo exercitu Dunelmum præteriens usque ad Tesam fluvium segetes depopulari, villas et ecclesias quas alia vice intactas reliquit, more suo frangi, deprædari, succendi fecit. Pertransiens quoque Tesam idem factitare cœpit. Verum divina pietas lacrimis innumerabilium viduarum orphanorum et miserorum pulsata, illum tantam impietatem diutius impune exercere non est passa. Quippe dumque se suosque ad hujusmodi nequitiam præpararet, omnis ejus apparatus et quid agere et quo tendere proposuerat, et fama præconante et certis nuntiis intercurrentibus, homines Eboracensis scyræ non latuit. Igitur barones illius provinciæ . . . Eboracum convenerunt, et quid consilii in hac tempestate habere deberent, inter se diligenter tractaverunt. . . . At illi ad opidum quod Tresc vocatur iverunt.* . . .

* Rodbertus de Brus et Bernardus de Baillolio ad regem Scottiæ super Teisam profecti sunt, Henrico filio ejus comitatum Northymbriæ pollicentes, et eum ab hac impugnatione cessare commonentes. Noluit acquiescere rex. Iccirco Rodbertus absolvit se ab homagio quod ei fecerat pro baronia quam tenuit de eo in Galewegia. (J. prior Hagustaldensis, co. 261.) In the harangue made by this baron to king David, he tells him, "Nova tibi est in *Walensibus* ista securitas, qui eos hodie armis petis per quos hactenus amabilis Scottis, terribilis *Galwensibus* imperasti." (Ethelredus, co. 343.)

Dum itaque adventum Scottorum expectarent, ecce . . . regem cum exercitu suo jam Tesam fluvium pertransisse, et more suo jam suam provinciam destruentem cognoscunt. Ergo cum summa festinatione eis occurrunt. Pertranseuntesque villam quæ *Alvertun* dicitur, ad campum* qui duobus miliariis ab ea distabat summo mane pervenerunt. Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod *Standard* appellaverunt. . . . Deinde vix se bellicis armis instruxerant, cum ecce rex Scotiæ cum toto exercitu suo ad præliandum paratissimo ac promptissimo cominus adesse nunciatur. Itaque maxima pars equitum, equis relictis, fiunt pedites. . . . Similiter vero ex parte adversariorum ipse rex, et pene omnes sui sunt effecti pedites. . . . In fronte belli erant Picti, in medio rex, cum militibus et Anglis suis; cætera barbaries undique circumfusa fremebat.† . . .

Rex, interim, coactis in unum comitibus, optimisque regni sui proceribus, cœpit cum eis de belli ratione tractare; placuitque plurimis, ut quotquot aderant armati milites et sagittarii cunctum præirent exercitum quatenus armati armatos impete-

* Cowton-moor, where, though it has been long inclosed, the *Scot-pit-fields* are well known at this day.

† Ricardus, prior Hagustal. co. 315, &c.

rent, milites congrederentur militibus, sagittæ sagittis obviarent. Restitere Galwenses, dicentes sui esse juris primam constituere aciem, primum in hostes impetum dare, sua probitate reliquum animare exercitum. Periculosum dicebant alii, si in primo aggressu inermes armatis occurrerent, quoniam si belli vim non sustinens, primus currens laberetur in fugam, etiam fortium corda facile solverentur. Galwenses, nichilominus insistebant, jus suum sibi concedi postulantes. "Quid, enim," inquiunt, "o rex, formidas, et tunicas illas ferreas quas eminus cernis nimium expavescis? Nobis, certè, sunt latera ferrea, pectus æreum, mens timoris vacua, quorum nec pedes fugam, nec umquam vulnus terga sensere. Quid Gallis apud *Cliderhou** profuere loricæ? Nunquid non inermes isti, ut dicunt illos et loricas projicere, et negligere galeas, et scuta relinquere coegerunt? Videat igitur prudentia vestra, o rex, quale sit in his habere fiduciam, quæ in necessitate magis sunt oneri quam consolationi. Nos apud Cliderhou de loricatis victoriam reportavimus, nos hodie et istos animi virtute pro

* William MacDuncan had, a short time before, with a body of Picts and Scots, defeated the English, or Normans, who are here called Galli or French, with great slaughter; obtaining much plunder, and many prisoners. Many English or Normans were also in the Scotish army.

scuto utentes lanceis prosternemus." His dictis, cum rex militum magis consiliis adquiescere videretur, Malisse comes Stradarniæ plurimum indignatus, "Quid est," inquit, "o rex, quod Gallorum te magis committis voluntati, cum nullus eorum cum armis suis me inermem sit hodie præcessurus in bello?" Quæ verba Alanus de Perci, magni Alani filius nothus,* miles strenuissimus et in militaribus negotiis probatissimus, ægre ferens, conversus ad comitem, "Grande," inquit, "verbum locutus es, et quod hodie pro vita tua efficere non valebis." Tunc rex utrosque compescens, ne tumultus hac altercatione subito nasceretur, Galwensium cessit voluntati.†

Igitur, in octabis assumptionis sanctæ Mariæ, undecimo kalendas Septembris, feria secunda, inter primam et tertiam, hujus prælii conflictus initus et finitus est. Nam statim in primo congressu,‡

* William de Percy, the elder, or legitimate brother of this Allan, a powerful baron of Yorkshire, was on the other side.

† Ethelredus abbas, *De bello standardi*, co. 342.

‡ At Galwensium cuneus more suo ter ululatum diræ vocis emittens tanto impetu irruunt in australes, ut primos lancearios stationem deserere compellerent, sed vi militum iterum repulsi, in hostes animum viresque recipiunt. . . . Videres ut hericium spinis, ita Galwensem sagittis undique circumseptum, nichilominus vibrare gladium, et cæca quadam amentia proruentem nunc hostem cædere, nunc inanem aerem cassis ictis verberare. (Ethelredus abbas, co. 345.)

innumeris Pictis interfectis, cæteri, projectis armis, turpem fugam inierunt.* Campus cadaveribus repletur, quamplurimi capiuntur, rex, et alii omnes, terga dederunt. Denique de tanto exercitu, omnes aut cæsi sunt, aut capti, aut sicut oves, percusso pastore, dispersi. . . . Namque Angli, et Scotti, et Picti, et cæteri barbari ubicumque casu se inveniebant, quicumque prævalebant alios mutuo vel trucidabant, vel vulnerabant, vel saltem spoliabant, et ita, justo dei judicio, æque à suis sicut ab alienis opprimebantur.†

* "Scotti igitur et Picti vix à prima hora initi conflictus usque ad tertiam perstiterunt, videntes se confodi et consui sagittis, et obrui, et opprimi. Qui omnes à campo dilapsi sunt sarcinas suas à se rejicientes. In ignominiam hujus rei vocatus est locus ille *Baggamor*." (J. Hagustal. co. 362.) "Tunc Galwenses imbrem sagittarum, gladios militum ulterius non sustinentes, fugam ineunt, occisis prius duobus, eorum ducibus *Wlgrico* et *Duvenaldo*." (Ethelredus, co. 345.)

Wlgric has some similarity to the Saxon *Uchtred* (the name of the second son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, who died in 1161); *Duvenald*, is synonimous with *Donald*, and is, notoriously, Irish.

† Ricar. prior Hagustal. co. 315, &c. Anglorum sane proceres diu insequentes innumerabiles tam Scottos quam Galwenses interfecerunt. (Ethelred, co. 346.) Ipsæ etiam acies Scottorum et Pictorum ubi ad invicem in reditu concurrerunt infelici hostilitate concertantes sese suffocaverunt. Rex igitur in regnum suum receptus convocatus ad se Scottos et Pictos multa massa pecuniarum multavit, acceptis obsidibus et sacra-

MCXXXVIII. William, the son of Duncan, nephew of David king of Scotland, with part of the army of the same David, assailed, with nocturnal

mentis ab eis, quod in omni conflictu et periculo fideliter cum eo et pro eo persisterent. (J. Hagustal. co. 262.) Scottos quoque et Pictos in hoc sibi acquiescentes habuit, ut infra festum sancti Martini omnem captivitatem ad *Karlel* reducerent et libertate donarent, nullusque eorum ecclesias violare, femineo sexui, vel pueris, vel senibus, cædem inferre ulterius præsumeret. (Idem, co. 264.)

An ancient poet, Serlo, a monk, brother of Radulfus abbas de Parcho, says, of the Scots who returned home alive, from the battle of Cowton-moor:

"Quidam tamen lento pede venerunt ad propria,
Sed nil secum attulere nisi fata tristia.
Quam ob causam singulorum uxor cum familia,
Luxit virum cladem passum, nec adeptum spolia.
Prohibentque viros suos præliari denuo,
Maloht Pœtric imprecantes Anglis et Standardio."

Decem Scrip. co. 331.

This abbey is unnoticed in Tanners *Notitia.*

In this battle, says Lambarde, "After that the bishop of Durham [r. Orkney] had exhorted the soldiers to fighte, the Scottes cryed out *Albany! Albany!* after their own maner, as thoughe al had bene theires. But the Englishe souldyours sent amongest them suche hayle of shott, that after a whyle they turned their backes, and, in fine, theare was slayne of theim to the numer of 11,000, and they weare, for their brag of *Albany*, mocked with *Yry*, *Yry*, Standard! a terme of great reproache at that time, as Matthew Paris witnesseth;" in whose work, however, no such thing is to be found.

treachery, the castle which is called Carrum, in the land of the king of England, and, destroying the country all round, began to attack it by storm. Afterward, the king himself, with Henry his son and a greater army, coming thither, and trying the endeavours of all their force, attempted to carry the town by engines which throw stones, and other machines, and, by various attacks, and thereafter besieged it three weeks. But he profited nothing, nay rather, god assisting, each of his attempts was turned against himself. Now the king, perceiving his labour there to be fruitless, and a grievous loss to him and his from day to day to grow, inflamed with indignation and anger; at length, leaving the town, hastened, with all his multitude, to destroy Northumberland. Therefore that detestable army, more atrocious than every kind of pagans, carrying reverence neither to god nor to men, having plundered the whole province, everywhere killed persons of each sex, of every age and condition, destroyed, pillaged, burned towns, churches, houses. For men sick in bed, and women pregnant, and in the act of delivery, and infants in cradles, and other innocents, between the breasts and in the bosoms of their mothers, with the mothers themselves, and decrepid old men, and worn-out old women, and all other feeble persons from whatever cause where-

ever they were found, they killed with the point of the sword, or thrust through with their lances: And by how much the more miserable kind of death they could destroy them, by so much the more they rejoiced.... Now this abominable army was composed of Normans, Germans, English, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, from Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts, who are vulgarly called Galwegians, and Scots; nor was there any one who knew their number.

Therefore, running up and down through the province, and sparing no one, they wasted almost all Northumberland, as far as the river Tyne, with sword and fire. Now, in this madness of stormy time, that noble monastery of Hexham, although being placed in the middle concourse, and as it were in the way of that abominable army, and of the abovementioned evils, it were straightened by them on every side, yet, god assisting, it offered to its own people and all flying to it, the most firm peace, and remained to all those a most safe asylum against all hostile attacks. Nevertheless, at first the Picts making an irruption, with very great violence, to the river Tyne flowing hard by the same town, had proposed to destroy the same like other places. But by and by before they could pass the aforesaid river, two of their number were killed by

the country people: which the rest perceiving, they departed back terrified. Moreover two of the same nation of Picts came to a certain oratory of st. Michael situate on the same north part of the river Tyne, which belonged to the aforesaid church of Hexham. Breaking therefore the door thereof, what they there found they took away with them. But the vengeance of god was not wanting. For presently, being delivered to the devil, they are deprived of sense, and as madness agitated them, running up and down in the sight of all through the woods and country by night and day, one of them at first bruising his mouth with stones, afterward his thighs being cut off by some one, the other drowning himself in the Tyne, each damned by either death miserably perished. In the mean time, about the purification of st. Mary, Stephen king of England, with a very great army of horse and foot, came [down into the north]: which when the king of Scotland knew, leaving Northumberland, he hastened with his army to his own land... But, the paschal solemnity being accomplished, presently in the next week on saturday, the oftenmentioned king of Scotland with his abominable army returned again into Northumberland, and, afterward, destroyed the greatest part of the land of st. Cuthbert in the eastern part between Dur-

ham and the sea, with no less fury and cruelty than is above said. But the holy Cuthbert, at length, had compassion on his people. For, while his soldiers did these things, the king, with his knights, remained not far from Durham: where, a serious sedition having arisen, on account of a certain woman, the Picts threatened to destroy the king with his attendants: with which fear while he was greatly troubled, behold by a false rumour it is published that a great army is approaching from South-England. Therefore, leaving his victuals, which were then ready, no one pursuing, he fled with all his people to his own country, and turned aside to the town of Norham, and laying siege thereto, tried, by various means and machines, to conquer and take it: And while he there stayed in the siege, he sent William MacDuncan his nephew, with the Picts, and part of his army, on an expedition into Yorkshire: whither arriving, and by reason of the sins of the people, obtaining a victory, the possessions of a certain noble monastery, which is situated in Furness, and the province which is called Craven, for a great part, they with sword and fire destroyed. Therefore, sparing no rank, no age, no sex, no condition, children and relations in the sight of their parents, and lords in the sight of their servants, and *vice versa*, and husbands before

the eyes of their wives by how much the more miserably they were able, they at first slew, then, alas! noble matrons alone and chaste virgins mixed with other women and at the same time with the plunder they carried off. Naked also and in troops, tied and coupled together with ropes and thongs, and pricking them with their lances and darts, they drove them before them. Afterward, these being divided with the booty, some of them moved by compassion delivered certain of them free to the church of st. Mary in Carlisle. But the Picts and many others led those which came to them along with them to their own country. Finally, those bestial men, esteeming adultery, and incest, and all other crimes, for nothing, after, in the manner of brute animals, they were weary of abusing those most wretched creatures, either made them hand-maids for themselves, or sold them to other barbarians for cows. Now king David, having committed the siege of Carrum to two of his thanes, that is, barons, with their followers, with the greatest part of his army marched to the town which is called Bamburgh; And, entering into the land of st. Cuthbert, waited for that part of his army which had not yet come to him: And presently, at his proclamation, the Picts and Cumbrians, and the men of Carlisle, of the circumjacent

region, came together to him. Therefore his whole army being assembled, because it appeared to him exceeding great, and unconquerable, for, in truth, it was considerable, having more than 26,000 men, he rejoiced with exceeding great joy. Now these things being done before the octave of the nativity of st. Mary, the king, with his army, passing by Durham to the river Tees, caused the corn-fields to be destroyed, the towns and churches, which on another occasion he left untouched, after his manner, to be broken, plundered, and burned. Passing also over the Tees, he began to do the same thing. But divine piety, affected by the tears of numberless widows, orphans, and wretched persons, did not suffer him longer to exercise such impiety. For, whilst he was preparing himself and his followers to this sort of wickedness, all his preparation, and what he proposed to do, and whither to go, both by proclaiming fame, and by certain messengers running between, was not concealed from the men of Yorkshire. Therefore the barons of that province assembled at York, and diligently considered amongst themselves what council they ought to take in this crisis . . . But they went to the town which is called Thirsk. While, therefore, they waited for the approach of the Scots, behold they learn that the king, with his army, has already

passed the river Tees, and is now, in his manner, destroying their province. Therefore with the utmost haste, they go to meet them: and passing through the town which is called North-Allerton, they came early in the morning to a field which was distant therefrom two miles. Presently some of them erected in the midst of a certain machine which they had brought thither the mast of a ship, which they called *Standard*. Afterward they had scarcely instructed themselves in warlike arms, when behold the king of Scotland, with his whole army well prepared and most ready to fight, is announced to be near. Therefore the greatest part of the horsemen, leaving their horses, became footmen. In like manner, on the part of the adversaries, the king himself, and all his people, became footmen. In the front of the battle were the Picts, in the midst the king with his knights and English, the rest of the barbarians, dispersed round about on every side, roared like beasts.

The king, in the meantime, the earls and best men of his realm being assembled together, began to treat with them concerning the order of the battle, and it pleased a great many, that, as many as had come up, the armed men, knights, and bowmen, should precede the whole army, inasmuch as armed men would attack armed men, knights encounter

with knights, and arrows with arrows. The Galwegians resisted, saying, that it was their right to construct the first battalion, and give the first assault unto the enemy, to animate by their bravery the rest of the army. Others said, it would be dangerous, if, in the first attack, the unarmed should meet with the armed, forasmuch as, if the first battalion, not sustaining the shock of war, should fall into flight, even the hearts of the brave would be easily dissolved. The Galwegians, nevertheless, insisted, requiring their right to be granted to them: "For why," they said, "o king, dost thou fear, and art too much frightened, at those iron coats which thou perceivest at a distance? To us, certainly, are iron sides, a breast of brass, a mind void of fear, whose feet have neither felt flight, nor, ever, their backs a wound. How far did these mail-coats profit the French at Clithero? Whether did not these unarmed, as they call them, compel them to cast off their hauberks, and neglect their helmets, and abandon their shields? Let your wisdom, therefore, o king, see how little confidence there is in these things, which, in need, are more for burthen than for comfort. We at Clithero carried off the victory from these mail-coats, and we shall prostrate them to-day with our lances, using the valour of the mind for a shield." These things being said, when

the king seemed to acquiesce in the counsels of the knights, Malisse, earl of Strathern, very much enraged, said, "Why is it, o king, that thou rather committest thyself to the will of the Normans, when none of them with his arms is about to surpass me unarmed to-day in battle?" These words Allan de Percy, bastard son of the great Allan, a most brave knight and very much approved in military affairs, hardly bearing, says, turning to the earl, "A grand word hast thou spoken, and which, to-day, for thy life, thou wilt not be able to perform." Then the king, appeasing both, lest a tumult should, suddenly, be born of this altercation, yielded to the will of the Galwegians.

Therefore, in the octave of the assumption of saint Mary, on the eleventh of the calends of September, on monday, between the first hour and the third the conflict of this battle was begun and ended. For, immediately, on the first encounter, numberless Picts being slain, the rest, their arms being thrown away, took to flight. The field is filled with carcasses, a great many are taken, the king, and all the others, turn their backs: Finally of such an army, all being either killed or taken, or scattered like sheep without a shepherd. For the English, and Scots, and Picts, and the other barbarians, wherever they accidentally found them-

selves, whosoever prevailed, either killed, or wounded, or, at least, plundered each other, and so, by the just judgment of god, were equally oppressed by their own people as by strangers.

MCXLII. [Tres filii Haraldi fratris Olavi], congregata classe, transfretaverunt ad Galwediam, volentes sibi subjugare. Galwedienses, autem, conglobati, et magno impetu facto, congressi sunt cum eis. Illi, statim, terga vertentes, fugerunt cum magna confusione ad Manniam, omnesque Galwedienses, qui in ea habitabant, quosdam jugulaverunt, alios expulerunt.*

MCXLII. The three sons of Harold the brother of Olave, a fleet being assembled, passed over to Galloway, willing to subdue it. The Galwegians, however, forming a circle, and a great effort being made, encountered with them. They, immediately, turning their backs, fled with great confusion to Man, and all the Galwegians, who inhabited therein, some of whom they slew, others they banished.

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* *Chro. reg. Man.*

MCXLII. Fundata est abbatia de Dundraynan in Galwaya.*

MCXLII. The abbey of Dundraynan, in Galloway, was founded.

MCLVI. Dovenaldus filius Malcolmi apud Witterne captus est, et incarceratus in turre de Rokesburc cum patre suo.†

MCLVI. Donald, the son of Malcolm, was taken at Whithern, and imprisoned in the tower of Roxburgh with his father.

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* *Chronica de Mailros.* The founder was Fergus, prince or lord of Galloway, the first whose name is preserved. He was most probably of Irish extraction, and his family surname *Macdouall.* (See Dugdales *Monasticon*, and Nisbets *Heraldry.*) "In Galloway," according to sir James Dalrymple, "the most ancient 'surnames' were *Mackdowall*, Mackculloch, Mackie, and Macklellan," all Irish.

† *Ibi.* This Malcolm, surnamed *MacHeth*, but whose true name was *Wimund*, was, in fact, an English monk, but pretended to be the son of Angus, earl of Murray, slain in 1130. (See G. Neubrig. p. 79, &c. or lord Hailes's *Annals*, I, 86.) In 1157 he made his peace with the king. (*Chro. S. crucis.*)

MCLX. Malcolmus [quartus] rex tribus vicibus cum magno exercitu perrexit in Galweiam, et tandem subjugavit eam sibi.*

Fergus princeps Galwaiæ habitum canonicum in ecclesia Sanctæ crucis de Ednesburch suscepit; et eis villam quæ dicitur Dunroden dedit.†

MCLX. King Malcolm the fourth, three times, with a great army, marched into Galloway, and, at length, subjugated it to himself.

Fergus, prince of Galloway, took the canonical habit in the church of the Holy rood of Edinburgh; and gave to them the town which is called Dunroden.

MCLXI. Obiit Fergus princeps Galwaiæ quarto idus Maii.‡

MCLXI. Fergus, prince of Galloway, died on the fourth of the ides of May (12th).

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* R. de Hoveden, p. 492. Rex Malcolmus duxit exercitum in Galwaiam ter, et ibidem, inimicis suis devictis, fœderatus est cum pace et sine damno remeavit. (*Chro. S. crucis.*)

† *Ibi.* ‡ *Ibi.*

MCLXIV. Sumerledus, regulus Eregeithel, jam per annos xii. contra regem Scotiæ Malcolmum dominum suum naturalem impiè rebellans, cum copiosum de Hibernia et diversis locis contrahens apud Renfriu applicavisset, tandem ultione divina cum filio suo, et innumerabili populo, à paucis comprovincialibus ibidem occisus est.*

MCLXIV. As Somerled, kinglet of Argyle, now for 12 years impiously rebelling against Malcolm king of Scotland, his natural lord, drawing together a numerous army from Ireland and divers places, had arrived at Renfrew, at length, by divine vengeance, with his son, an innumerable people, by a few provincialists, he was there slain.

MCLXIX. Husbandus, prior de Wenelok, adduxit conventum apud Passelet, qui est juxta Renfriu.†

* *Chro. de Mailros.*

† *Ibi.* That the modern shire of Renfrew was anciently part of Galloway, see Innes's *Critical essay*, p. 160. The p. c. in both places reads, corruptly, *Renfrin.*

MCLXIX. Husband, prior of Wenlock, brought a convent to Paisley, which is near Renfrew.

MCLXXIV. Statim post clausum Pascha, rex Scotiæ promovit exercitum suam in Northumberlandiam, et ibi per Scottos et Galvalenses suos execrabiliter egit. Mulieres enim prægnantes findebant, et fœtus extractos super lancearum acumina jactabant. Infantes et pueros, juvenes et senes utriusque sexus, à maximo usque ad minimum, sine ulla redemptione et misericordia interfecerunt. Sacerdotes vero et clericos in ipsis ecclesiis super altaria detruncabant. Quæcunque igitur Scotti et Galvalenses attingebant, omnia erant honoris plena et immanitatis.* Interim rex Scotiæ . . . cum ex-

* Rex Scottorum Willelmus quæ in provincia Northanhymbrorum, avo suo regi David fuerant donata, tradita, cartis confirmata, quæ etiam fuerant ab ipso tempore longo possessa, repetens à rege patri [Henrico sci. II.] sed repulsam inveniens, congregavit exercitum, habens multitudinem infinitam Galwalensium, agilem, nudam, calvitie multa notabilem, sinistrum latus munientem cultellis, armatis quibus libet formidandis, jaculis jaciendis, et dirigendis in longinquum manum habentem aptissimam, lanceam longam cum ad bellum progreditur erigentem pro signo. Per fines itaque Hugonis episcopi Dunelmensis securum transitum habens, rex Scotiæ cœpit An-

ercitu suo obsedit Carleolum . . . Et inde recedens, obsedit castellum de ' Prudeau' Odenelli de Dunfranvilla; sed illud capere non potuit. Nam exercitus Eboracensis-siriæ [l. sciræ] super eum venire parabat. . . . Duces autem hujus exercitus erant Rodbertus de Stutevilla, et Willelmus filius suus, et Willelmus de Vesci, et Randulfus de Glanvilla, et Randulfus de Thilli, . . . et Bernardus de Baillol, et Odenellus de Dunfranvilla. Quod cum nuntiatum est regi Scotiæ, castellum illud, quod obsiderat, reliquit, et fugiens inde, venit usque Alnewic, et illud obsedit; et misit inde comitem Dunecanum, et comitem D'anegus, et Ricardum de Morvilla fere cum toto exercitu suo per circumjacentes provincias ad devastandum eas; et rex Scotiæ ibi remansit cum privata familia sua. Comes vero Dunecanus statim exercitum iterum in tres partes divisit: unam secum retinuit, et reliquas duas misit ad comburendum villas circumjacentes, et ad homines interficiendos à maximo usque ad minimum, et ad prædas adducendas. Et ipse cum parte exercitus quam sibi elegit intravit villam de Werkeurd, et eam combussit, et interfecit in ea omnes quos invenit, viros et mulieres, magnos et parvos; et fecit satellites suos

gliam depopulari, succendere villas, innumerabilem congregare prædam, captivas abducere mulierculas, à prægnantium uteris infantes semivivos abstrahere. (R. de Diceto, col. 40. 573.)

frangere ecclesiam sancti Laurentii, quæ ibi erat, et interficere in ea, et in domo clerici villæ illius, plus quam 100 viros, præter mulieres et parvulos, proh dolor ! . . . . . Sed deus omnipotens eadem die vindicavit injuriam et violentiam ecclesiæ martiris sui illatam ; nam prædicti duces exercitus Eboracisiriæ, cum audissent, quod rex Scotiæ recessisset de Prudehau, et obsedit Alnewicum, et ita misisset exercitum suum ab eo, cum festinatione secuti sunt eum ; et ex improviso invenerunt eum ante Alnewic ludentem cum militibus suis, tanquam securum et nihil timentem. Ipse enim cum illos vidisset à longo venientes, arbitratus est, ipsos esse comitem Dunecanum, et qui cum eo erant. Sed cum appropinquassent ei, irruerunt in eum, et statim ceperunt illum ; et milites suos, relicto illo, fugerunt.*

Erant in illo exercitu [sci. Willielmi Scotiæ regis] duo fratres, Gilbertus scilicet et Uctredus Galwadensis provinciæ domini, cum gentis propriæ turma numerosa. Hi nimirum Fergusi, olim principis ejusdem provinciæ, filii fuerant : et patri in fata concedenti, rege Scottorum, qui illius terræ principalis est dominus, hereditatem inter eos dividente, successerant. Verum Gilbertus natu major, paterni juris integritate fraudatum se dolens, fratrem

* Benedictus abbas, p. 72, &c.

semper in corde suo oderat, cum tamen concepti furoris impetum metus regius cohiberet.*

Huctredus filius Fergus, et Gillebertus frater ejus, cum audirent quod dominus suus rex Scotiæ caperetur [ad Alnewic], statim redierunt cum Galualensibus suis in patrias suas, et statim expulerunt à Galueia omnes ballivos et custodes quos rex Scotiæ eis imposuerat, et omnes Anglicos et Francigenas, quos apprehendere poterant, interfecerunt; et omnes munitiones et castella, quæ rex Scotiæ in terra illorum firmavit, ceperunt et destruxerunt, et omnes quos intus ceperant interfecernunt.†

Huctredus et Gillebertus, filii Ferregus, contendentes, ut illorum dominus alterius esse deberet, et habere dominium super Galwalenses, magnum odium inter se habuerunt: ita quod uterque illorum alteri insidiabatur ad interficiendum. Et procedente tempore, Gillebertus, filius Ferregus, homines suos congregavit, et cum eis consilium iniit, ut Huctredus, frater suus, caperetur et occideretur: et statuto tempore convenerunt, ut eum caperent et occiderent. Et venit Malcolumb, filius Gilleberti, filii Fergus, et obsedit insulam, in qua Huctredus frater patris sui, et consanguineus Henrici

* G. Neubrigensis, p. 216. † Benedictus abbas, p. 76.

regis Angliæ, filii Mathildis imperatricis,* morabatur, et eum cepit, et mittens carnifices suos, præcepit, ut oculos ei eriperent, et testiculos et linguam absciderent: et ita factum est. Et, relicto illo semi-vivo, abierunt: et ipse paulo post, vitam finivit. Dumque hæc fierent, dominus rex misit in Angliam unum de clericis suis, Rogerum de Hovendune nomine, ad Rodbertum de Vallis, ut illi duo Huctredum et Gillebertum filios Fergus convenirent, et allicerent eos ad servitium ejus. Cumque venissent circa festum sancti Clementis ad colloquium inter ipsos et Gillebertum filium Fergus, ipse Gillebertus et ceteri GALWALENSES obtulerunt eis, ad opus regis, duo millia marcarum argenti, et quingentas vaccas, et quingentos porcos, de redditu per annum: hac conditione, quod rex eos in manu sua reciperet, et à servitute regis Scotiæ eriperet. Sed prædicti nuntii regis Angliæ hunc finem cum GALUALENSIBUS facere noluerunt, donec locuti fuissent cum rege. Et cum indicatam esset regi, qualiter Huctredus, filius Fergus,

* The nature of this consanguinity does not appear. It is, however, to be inferred, that Gilbert and Uchtred were the sons of different wives, and that the latters mother had been somehow or other related to the king of England. No author ever mentions the name of either Fergus's wife or Gilberts.

consanguineus suus interficeretur, noluit cum GALUALENSIBUS illis pacem aliquam facere.*

Illustris rex Anglorum Henricus II. . . . in extremos regni fines adversus Rolandum Galwadiæ principem duxit exercitum. Quippe idem Rolandus mortuo Gilbert, qui, capto à nostris rege Scottorum, fratrem Uctredum nefarie peremerat, in filios ejus sorte bellica prævalens, totam illam sibi provinciam vendicaret. Interpellatus ab eis rex Anglorum, Rolando mandavit, ut hereditatem paternam propriis redderet consobrinis; qui cum sprevisset mandatum, iratus rex cum ingentibus equitum et peditum copiis partes illas adiit.†

MCLXXIV. Immediately after the close of Easter, the king of Scotland marched his army into Northumberland, and there, by his Scots and Galwegians, acted execrably. For they divided pregnant women, and threw the extracted fœtuses upon the points of their lances. They slew infants and boys, young and old of each sex, from the greatest to the least, without any ransom or mer-

* Benedictus abbas, p. 92. V. etiam G. Neubrigensis *historiam*, p. 216, *Chro.* J. Bromton, co. 1092, et R. de Hoveden *Annales*, p. 541.

† G. Neubrigensis, p. 281.

cy. They also mangled the priests and clerks, in the very churches, upon the altars. Whatever things, therefore, the Scots and Galwegians reached, all were full of horror and cruelty. In the mean time the king of Scotland with his army besieged Carlisle.... And thence departing, besieged the castle of Prudehou, of Ordenel de Dunfranville; but was not able to take it: For the army of Yorkshire made ready to come upon him. Now the leaders of this army were Robert de Stuteville, and William his son, and William de Vesci, and Randal de Glanville, and Randal de Thilli; and Bernard de Baillol, and Odenel de Dunfranville. When this was announced to the king of Scotland, he left the castle, which he had besieged, and flying thence came to Alnwick, and besieged it, and sent thence the earl Duncan, and the earl of Angus, and Richard de Morville, with almost all his army through the circumjacent provinces to waste them; and the king of Scotland remained there with his private attendants. The earl Duncan straightway divided his army again into three parts: one he retained with him, and the remaining two he sent to burn the circumjacent towns, and to kill the men from the greatest to the least, and to bring off booty. And he with the part of the army which he had chosen for himself, entered the town

of Warkworth, and burned it, and killed therein all whom he found, men and women, great and small; and made his guards break open the church of st. Leonard, which was there, and kill therein, and in the house of the clerk of that town, more than 100 men, beside women and children, alas for pity! . . . But almighty god on the same day avenged the injury and violence offered to the church of his martyr; for the aforesaid leaders of the army of Yorkshire, when they had heard that the king of Scotland had retired from Prudhoe, and besieged Alnwick, and so had sent his army from him, followed him with haste; and unawares found him before Alnwick playing with his soldiers, as if secure and fearing nothing. For he himself, when he had seen them coming from afar, thought them to be the earl Duncan and those who were with him. But when they had approached him, they rushed upon him, and straightway took him; and his soldiers, leaving him, fled.

There were in this army two brothers, Gilbert, that is, and Uchtred, lords of the province of Galloway, with a numerous body of their proper nation. These were the sons of Fergus, formerly prince of the same province, and had succeeded to their father, yielding to the fates, the king of Scotland, who is the chief lord of that land, divi-

ding between them the inheritance. But Gilbert, the elder by birth, being displeased that he was defrauded of the entirety of his paternal right, had always hated his brother in his heart, while, however, the fear of the king restrained the violence of his conceived fury.

Uchtred the son of Fergus, and Gilbert his brother, when they heard that their lord the king of Scotland was taken [at Alnwick], straightway returned, with their Galwegians, into their country, and forthwith expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and wardens which the king of Scotland had put over them, and killed all the English and French, whom they were able to apprehend; and took and destroyed all the fortresses and castles which the king of Scotland erected in their land, and killed all those whom they had taken within them.

Uchtred and Gilbert, the sons of Gilbert, contending that each of them should be lord and have dominion over the Galwegians, had great hatred between themselves: so that each of them lay in wait to kill the other: And in process of time, Gilbert, the son of Fergus, assembled his men, and went to council with them, that Uchtred his brother should be taken and killed: and at the time fixed they came together, that they might take and

kill him: and Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, the son of Fergus, came and besieged the island, in which Uchtred the brother of his father, and the cousin of Henry king of England the son of Maud the empress, dwelled, and took him, and sending his executioners, commanded that they should pluck out his eyes, and cut off his testicles and his tongue: and it was so done: and, leaving him half alive, departed: and he, a little after, ended his life. While these things were done, the lord the king sent into England one of his chaplains, named Roger de Hoveden, to Robert de Vaux, that they two should agree with Uchtred and Gilbert, and entice them into his service. When they had come about the feast of st. Clement to a conference between them and Gilbert the son of Fergus, the same Gilbert and the other Galwegians offered them, for the use of the king, 2000 marks of silver, and 500 hogs, rent by the year, upon this condition, that the king should receive them in his hand, and take them from the servitude of the king of Scotland. But the aforesaid messengers of the king of England would not make this end with the Galwegians, until they had spoken with the king: and when it was shown to the king, how Uchtred, the son of Fergus, his cousin, was killed, he would not make any peace with those Galwegians.

The illustrious king of the English Henry II. led an army into the extreme borders of his kingdom against Rowland prince of Galloway. Forasmuch as the same Rowland, on the death of Gilbert, who, after the king of Scots was taken by our people, had nefariously killed his brother Uchtred, prevailing over his sons by the chance of war, claimed all that province for himself. The king of England, required by them, commanded Rowland that he should restore the paternal inheritance to his proper cousins, who despising the command, the enraged king with huge forces of horse and foot went into those parts.

MCLXXV. Dominus rex [Henricus II.] dedit et concessit regi Scotiæ licentiam promovendi exercitum in Galveiam, ad debellandum Gilebertum, filium Fergus, pro eo, quod ipse à fidelitate sua recesserat, et fratrem suum Huctredum nequiter interfecerat.*

MCLXXV. The lord the king [Henry II.] gave and granted to the king of Scotland license to

* Benedictus abbas, p. 120.

march an army into Galloway, to subdue Gilbert, son of Fergus, for this reason, that he revolted from his fealty, and maliciously killed his brother Uchtred.

MCLXXVI. Rex [Henricus] circa festum sancti Dionysii venit usque Fecheham: et ibidem venit ad eum Willelmus rex Scotiæ: et duxit secum Gilebertum filium Fergus qui fratrem suum Huctredum interfecerat. Et ipse Gilebertus, facta pace cum domino rege de morte fratris sui, qui cognatus regis erat, devenit homo ipsius, et fidelitatem ei juravit contra omnes homines; et pro amore ipsius habendo, dedit ei mille marcas argenti [et Dunicanum filium suum in obsidem de pace servanda]. Et sic facta pace sua, domum venit; et præcepit, quod omnes aliegenæ, qui in Galweia per regem Scotiæ tenementum aliquod habebant, exulerent [l. exularent]: et qui huic diffinitioni consentire nollet, capitalem subiret sententiam.*

MCLXXVI. The king [Henry] about the feast of st. Dennis came as far as Feckham: and

* Benedictus, p. 154. R. de Hoveden, p. 555.

there came to him William king of Scotland; and brought with him Gilbert the son of Fergus, who had killed his brother Uchtred. And this Gilbert, having made peace with the lord the king concerning the death of his brother, who was the kings cousin, became his man (*i. e.* did him homage), and swore fealty to him against all men; and for having his good will, gave him a thousand marks of silver [and Duncan his son as a hostage for keeping the peace]: And so, his peace being made, he came home, and commanded that all foreigners, who held any tenement in Galloway by the king of Scotland should be banished: and he who would not submit to this proclamation, should suffer capital punishment.

MCLXXXV. Die circumcisionis, morte sua obiit Gillebertus, filius Fergus, princeps Galuualensium, inimicus regis Scotiæ domini sui; cujus filium et heredem Dunecanum dominus rex Angliæ in custodia Hugonis de Morwic tenuit obsidem, super pactis inter illos contractis, de pace servanda.*

MCLXXXV. On the day of the circumcision, died Gilbert, the son of Fergus, prince of the Gal-

* Benedictus, p. 435.

wegians, enemy of the king of Scotland, his lord; whose son and heir, Duncan, the lord the king of England held in the custody of Hugh de Morwic, upon the engagements contracted between them, for keeping the peace.

MCLXXXV. Rollandus, filius Uctredi, filii Fergus, statim post obitum Gilleberti, fratris patris sui, collecta sibi in auxilium copiosa equitum peditumque multitudine, invasit terram prædicti Gilleberti; et interfectis universis, qui sibi resistere volebant, totam terram illam sibi subjugavit: nec non et omnes potentiores et ditiores totius Galwaiæ interfecit; et terras eorum occupavit; et in eis castella et munitiones quamplures fecit, firmans regnum suum.*

* Benedictus abbas, p. 438. Bellum fuit in Galwela inter Rolandum et Gillepatricium iv. non Julii feria v. in quo plures occubuerunt ex parte Gillepatricii. Ipse vero interiit cum multis aliis. *Chro. de Mailros.*

Bowmaker, abbot of Inchcolm, the continuator of the *Scotichronicon*, says that the wife of Uchtred, and mother of Rowland, was *Mariota*, daughter of a "dominus de Allerdes" (L. 14, c. 12). We find, however, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, that "Alanus *filius et hæres Waldevi* [*filii Cospatricii*] *dedit Ugthredo* filio *Fergus*, domino Galwediæ, cum

Rolandus bellum habuit contra Gillecolmum, in quo frater Rolandi occubuit, et Gillecolmus periit.*

MCLXXXV. Rowland, the son of Uchtred, the son of Fergus, immediately after the death of Gilbert, his fathers brother, having collected to his assistance a copious multitude of horse and foot, invaded the land of the aforesaid Gilbert; and, killing all that willed to resist him, subjugated that whole land to himself; he, likewise, killed all the more powerful and rich inhabitants of all Galloway; and occupied their lands; and made therein a great many castles and fortresses, in order to strengthen his government.

Rowland had a battle against Gillecolm, in which the brother of Rowland fell, and Gillecolm perished.

Guynolda sorore sua *Torhenhow* [in Cumbria] cum advocatione ecclesiæ." (To. I, p. 400). Bowmaker, at the same time, asserts Genilda, another daughter of this lord of Allerdes, to have been the wife of David earl of Huntingdon; who, however, actually married Maud, daughter of Hugh Cyveliok earl of Chester. The above Cospatrick, according to the *Chronica de Mailros*, died in 1166.

* *Chronica de Mailros.*

In the moneth of August, at Cairluel, Rouland Talvaten, lord of Galway, did homage and fealtie to king Henry, withe al that held of hym.*

MCLXXXVI. Willelmus rex Scotiæ et David frater ejus, per mandatum regis [Henrici] ad curiam suam venerunt, adducentes secum Jocelinum episcopum Glascuensem, et abbatem Arnaldum de Mailros, et comites et barones de regno Scotiæ; quos dominus rex honorifice suscepit. . . . Et post paucos dies, accepta à supradictis comitibus et baronibus Scotiæ securitate de fide sibi servanda, et acceptis ab eis obsidibus, misit eos in patriam suam, et præcepit eis, ut debellarent Rolandum filium Uctredi; nisi ad curiam suam venire vellet, et juri stare super hoc, quod [contra] prohibitionem illius et justiciariorum suorum, terram Gilleberti filii Fergii, et aliorum baronum Galveyæ, cum hostili manu intraverat, et sibi subjugatam occupaverat, vel obtinuerat. Cumque præfatus Rolandus hæc audisset, collecta equitum peditumque multitudine copiosa, introitus Galveyæ et vias ejus quantum potuit, impedivit, semitruncatis et cæsis arboribus positis secus vias. Nec mora, Henricus rex Angliæ,

* Lelands *Collectanea*, II, 5.

magnum congregavit exercitum de universis provinciis Angliæ; et veniens usque Karleolum, misit inde Willelmum regem Scotiæ et David fratrem suum, ut Rolandum ad eum ducerent. Sed ipse cum illuc venire noluit, misit iterum pro illo eosdem nuntios, et cum illis Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et Ranulfum de Glanvilla justiciarium. Qui, datis prædicto Rolando obsidibus, et securitate ei facta, de salvo conductu eundi et redeundi, eum duxerunt ad regem, usque ad Karleolum. Qui pacem fecit cum domino rege, in hunc modum, scilicet, Quod terra, quæ fuit Uctredi filii Fergis patris sui, sibi quieta remaneret, sicut eam habuit die qua fuit vivus et mortuus. Et de terra, quæ fuit Gilleberti filii Fergis patrui sui, quam Duncanus filius præfati Gilleberti calumniatus est adversus eum, staret recto in curia domini regis Angliæ ad summonitionem suam. Et super his pactis servandis, juravit Rolandus, et tres filios suos obsides dedit. Juravit etiam fidelitatem regi Angliæ, et heredibus suis, per præceptum regis Scotiæ, contra omnes homines. Juravit etiam Willelmus rex Scotiæ et David frater ejus, et omnes comites et barones Scotiæ, quod si Rolandus à prædicta conventione, et à rege Angliæ resiliret, ipsi cum rege Angliæ fideliter tenebunt ad confundendum ipsum Rolandum, donec inde satisfaceret domino regi Angliæ.

Jocelinus autem, episcopus Glascuensis, promisit in verbo veritatis coram omnibus, et sanctorum reliquiis, quod nisi Rolandus prædictam conventionem inconcussam servaverit, ipse in eum, et in terram suam, sententiam excommunicationis promulgaret.*

MCLXXXVI. William, king of Scotland, and David, his brother, at the command of the king [Henry], came to his court, bringing with them Josceline bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold abbot of Melros, and earls and barons from the kingdom of Scotland: whom the lord the king honourably received: and after a few days, having taken from the abovesaid earls and barons of Scotland security for keeping faith to him, and taken hostages from them, he sent them into their own country, and commanded them, that they should subdue Rowland the son of Uchtred; unless he would come to his court, and stand to right upon this, that against the prohibition of himself and his judges he had entered the land of Gilbert the son of Fergus, and other barons of Galloway, with a hostile hand, and

* Benedictus abbas, p. 447. V. etiam R. de Hoveden, p. 631.

had occupied or obtained it subject to himself. When the aforesaid Rowland had heard these things, collecting a large multitude of horsemen and footmen, he rendered unpassable, as much as he could, the entrances of Galloway, and the ways thereof, cut and half-cut trees being placed across the ways. Without delay, Henry king of England assembled a great army from all the provinces of England; and coming as far as Carlisle, sent thence William king of Scotland and David his brother, that they might bring Rowland to him. But when he would not come, he sent again for him the same messengers, and with them Hugh bishop of Durham, and Randal de Glanville the justiciary: who, giving hostages to the aforesaid Rowland, and making him security for safe conduct in going and returning, brought him to the king, unto Carlisle: which Rowland made peace with the lord the king, in this manner, to wit, That the land which was of Uchtred the son of Fergus his father, should remain to him in quiet, as he had the same on the day in which he was alive and dead. And concerning the land, which was of Gilbert the son of Fergus his uncle, which Duncan the son of the aforesaid Gilbert claimed against him, he should stand to right in the court of the lord the king of England at his summons. And for keeping these conditions Row-

land swore, and gave his three sons hostages. He also swore fealty to the king of England and his heirs, by the command of the king of Scotland, against all men. William king of Scotland and David his brother, and all the earls and barons of Scotland likewise swore, that if Rowland should go back from the aforesaid convention and from the king of England, they themselves with the king of England would faithfully hold to confound the same Rowland, until he should thereof satisfy the lord the king of England. Josceline also bishop of Glasgow, promised on the word of truth before all and on the relicks of the saints, that unless Rowland kept the aforesaid convention unshaken, he himself against him and his land would publish the sentence of excommunication.

MCXCIII. Dunecanus, filius Gileberti de Galweia, dedit deo et sanctæ Mariæ et monachis de Melros quandam partem terræ suæ in Karic, quæ dicitur Maybothel, in perpetuam eleemosynam, pro salute animæ suæ et omnium parentum suorum, coram episcopo Jocelino et aliis multis testibus, sicut ejus carta testatur.*

* *Chro. de Mailros.*

MCXCIII. Duncan, son of Gilbert of Galloway, gave to god and st. Mary, and the monks of Melros, a certain part of his land in Carrick, which is called Maybottle, in perpetual alms, for the welfare of his soul, and of all his relations, before the bishop Josceline, and many other witnesses, as his charter witnesseth.

MCC. Mense Decembris, Rollandus, princeps Galweiæ, obiit in Anglia, apud Northamptun. 14. Kal. Januarii, feria 3. et ibidem sepultus est apud abbatiam S. Andreæ.*

Eodem anno Dunecan filius Gileberti filii Fergus rapuit Avelinam filiam Alani, filii Walteri, domini de Rainfriu, antequam Willielmus rex Scotiæ rediret de Angliam terram suam. Unde idem rex plurimum iratus cepit de Alano filio Walteri viginti quatuor plegios de pace sibi, et terræ suæ servando, et de jure faciendo super calumnia illa.†

* R. de Hoveden, p. 813. "Rolandus Macdonal [l. Macdoual], princeps Gallovidiæ, fundavit abbathiam Vallis lucis vulgò Glenluce, in Gallovidia." *Monasticon Anglicanum*, to. II, p. 1057. In Lelands *Collectanea*, II, 5, he is called, "Rouland Taluaten."

† R. de Hoveden, p. 813.

MCC. In the month of December, Rowland, prince of Galloway, died in England at Northampton, the 14th of the kalends of January, on Tuesday, and was there buried at the abbey of st. Andrew.

In the same year Duncan, son of Gilbert, son of Fergus, ravished Aveline, daughter of Alan, son of Walter, lord of Renfrew, before William king of Scotland returned out of England: Whence the same king, greatly enraged, took from Alan the son of Walter 24 pledges for keeping the peace to him and his land, and doing right upon that calumny.

MCCIX. Obiit episcopus Johannes Candidæ casæ, cui successit Walterus camerarius Alani filii Rolandi.*

Alanus [magnus de Galweya] filius Rolandi duxit filiam David comitis [de Huntingtona] fratris regis Scotiæ in uxorem [apud Dunde.]†

MCCIX. John, bishop of Whithern, died, to whom succeeded Walter, chamberlain of Alan, the son of Rowland.

* *Chro. de Mailros.* † *Ibi.*

The great Alan of Galloway, the son of Rowland, married the daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, at Dundee.

MCCXVI. In occidentali parte Scotiæ, quæ Galewia dicitur, secundum quod scripsit dominus Willielmus abbas de Glenlus, . . . domino priori et sacro conventui de Melros, apparuit visibiliter stupenda supra modum et nostris seculis inaudita lunæ transfiguratio.*

Minati sunt Philippus de Ullecotes et H. de Balliol, ut terram domini regis Scottorum ultionis causa devastarent; quo audito dominus rex cum summa festinatione generali exercitu, Anglorum scilicet et Scottorum et Galweiorum, III. nonas Julii versus 'Northumbriam' iter iterato arripuit.†

MCCXVI. In the west part of Scotland, which is called Galloway, according to what the lord William, abbot of Glenluce, wrote to the lord prior and sacred convent of Melros, appeared, visibly, an

* *Chro. de Mailros.* The Abbots letter is inserted.
† *Ibi.*

eclipse of the moon, stupendous above measure, and unheard of in our times.

Philip de Ullecotes, and H. de Baileol, threatened that they would, for the sake of revenge, waste the land of the lord the king of Scots; which being heard, the lord the king, with the utmost haste, with a general army, of English, to wit, and Scots, and Galwegians, the 3d of the nones of July, took his journey toward Northumberland.

MCCXVII. Obiit domina Eva de Galweia III. idus Junii.*

MCCXVII. The lady Eve of Galloway died the 3d of the ides of June.

MCCXXIV. Reginaldus [rex Insularum] assumpto secum Alano domino Galwediæ cum Mannensibus ad insulanas partes profectus est: ut par-

* *Chro. de Mailros.* This lady Eve was the widow of Rowland, lord of Galloway.

tem terræ quam dederat Olavo fratri suo auferret ab eo, et eam suo dominio subjugaret. Sed quia Mannensibus contra Olavum vel insulanos pugnare [non] libuit, eò quòd diligerent eos, Reginaldus, et Alanus dominus Galwediæ, nihil proficientes, ad propria reversi sunt. Post modicum temporis Reginaldus, sub occasione eundi ad curiam domini regis Angliæ, accepit à populo Manniæ centum marcas, et profectus est ad curiam Alani domini Galwediæ. Eodem tempore dedit filiam suam filio Alani in matrimonium. Quod audientes Mannenses indignati sunt valde, et mittentes propter Olavum constituerunt eum sibi regem.*

MCCXXIV. Reginald [king of the Isles], taking with him Allan lord of Galloway with the Manks, proceeded to the insular parts: that the part of the land which he had given to Olave his brother he might take from him, and subjugate it to his own dominion. But forasmuch as the Manks did not choose to fight against Olave or the islanders, because they loved them, Reginald and Allan, doing no good, returned home. After a short time Reginald, under pretence of going to the court of the lord the king of England, received from the

* *Chro. regum Manniæ.*

people of Man one hundred marks, and proceeded to the court of Allan lord of Galloway. At the same time he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Allan: which the Manks hearing were very angry, and sending for Olave constituted him their king.

MCCXXVIII. Olavus cum omnibus optimatibus Manniæ et fortiori parte populi transfretavit ad insulas. Paulo post Alanus dominus Galvediæ, et Thomas comes Ethioliæ, et Reginaldus rex venerunt ad Manniam cum magno exercitu, totam australem partem Manniæ vastaverunt, et ecclesias spoliaverunt, et viros quotquot capere poterant occiderunt, et redacta est australis pars Manniæ ferè in solitudinem. Et per hæc reversus est Alanus cum exercitu suo in terram suam, et reliquit ballivos suos in Mannia qui redderent ei tributa patriæ.*

MCCXXVIII. Olave, with all the great men of Man, and the braver part of the people sailed to the Isles. Shortly after Allan lord of Galloway,

* *Chro. regum Manniæ.*

and Thomas earl of Athol, and Reginald the king came to Man with a great army, wasted all the southern part of Man, and plundered churches, and killed as many men as they could take; and the southern part of Man was reduced almost into a desart: And after this Allan returned with his army into his own land, and left his bailiffs in Man, who should render him the tribute of the country.

MCCXXXIII. Alanus de Galweia dedit filiam suam uxorem Johanni de Bailiol, et sororem suam Waltero Biseth.*

MCCXXXIII. Allan of Galloway gave his daughter in marriage to John de Baileol, and his sister to Walter Bisset.

MCCXXXIV. Obiit Alanus filius Rolandi dominus Galwethiæ, et constabularius Scotiæ, et sepultus est apud Dundraynan; et reliquit III. filias hæredes, et filium unicum bastardum.

* *Chro. de Mailros.* The daughters name was Dervorgill.

MCCXXXIV. Alan, son of Rowland, lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, died, and was buried at Dundraynan; and left three daughters his heirs, and an only bastard son: who, while his father lived, married the daughter of the king of Man.

APPENDIX.

THE

SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS

OF

CANDIDA CASA, OR WHITHERN.*

1. PRISTINÆ FUNDATIONIS.

CCCXCIV. Australes Picti, qui intra [arduos et horrentes] montes [quibus à septentrionalibus

* Hwit-herne, Saxon, implies *the white-house ;* the signification, likewise, of Λουκο πιϐια, and *Candida-casa.* This famous mansion was situate upon the continental peninsula of Galloway, now Wigtonshire, where, or near which, Fergus, lord of Galloway, between seven and eight centuries afterward, founded a priory of the same name ; and not (as has been asserted) upon the little island at the point of it. " Candida casa vocatur locus in extremis *Angliæ* juxta *Scotiam* finibus, ubi beatus *Ninia* requiescit, natione *Britto*, qui primus ibidem

eorum regionibus sequestrati sunt] habent sedes, ut perhibent, relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia episcopo reverentissimo, et sanctissimo viro, de natione Brittonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus; cujus sedem episcopalem sancti Martini episcopi, nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi, ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit jam nunc [anno, scilicet, 731]

Christi prædicationem evangelizavit. Sanctum hunc *Niniam* præclarum virtutibus experta est antiquitas. Scribit *Alcuinus*, in epistola ad fratres ejusdem loci dicens: Deprecor vestræ pietatis unanimitatem ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam in ecclesia sanctissimi patris vestri Niniæ episcopi, qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis, quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis ecclesiæ scholastica directa sunt, in quibus et facientis cognovi eruditionem, et facientis miracula sanctitatem." (W. Malmes. *De ges. pon.* L. 3, p. 272.) His name is corrupted into *Rinian*, *Trinian*, and even *Ringan*. It is to this saint that frier John addresses his matins:

"Awake, O *Reinian*; ho, awake,
Awake, O *Reinian*, ho:
Get up, you no more sleep must take,
Get up; for we must go."

Rabelais, by Sir T. Urquhart, London, 1653, B. 1, p. 184.

Anglorum gens obtinet: qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgò vocatur Ad candidam casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit.*

1. OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDATION.

CCCXCIV. The southern Picts, who have their seats on this side of the high and dismal mountains, by which they are divided from the northern region of those people, as they report, having abandoned the error of idolatry, received the faith of the truth; Nynian, the bishop, a most reverend and holy man, of the nation of the Britons, who was regularly taught at Rome the faith and mystery of the truth, preaching to them the word: whose episcopal seat of saint Martin the bishop, famous by its name and church, where himself, also, in body, together with many saints, resteth, the English nation now possesses; which place, belonging to the province of the Romans, is vulgarly called Whithern, for that

* Beda, L. 3, c. 4. Bishop Keith says, that, after Ninian, Bede places one Octa, as bishop of this see, which is not true. No such name or circumstance is mentioned by Bede; and Ninians successor, if he had any, is utterly unknown.

he there made a church of stone, in a manner unusual to the Britons.

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2. NOVÆ FUNDATIONIS.

DCCXXXI. Provinciæ Nordanhymbrorum, cui rex Ceoluulf præest, quatuor nunc episcopi præsulatum tenent: Vilfrid in Eboracensi ecclesia, Ediluald in Lindisfarnensi, Acca in Hagustaldensi, Pecthelm in ea quæ Candida-casa vocatur, quæ nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem.*

* Beda, L. 5, c. 24. This is a decisive proof that there had been no bishop of this see since the departure of Ninian; and that Pecthelm was the first of the new foundation. It is, in fact, the perfection of folly and falsehood to assert Trumwin, whose see was at Abercorn, to have been bishop of Whithern; because some simpleton has placed him at the head of a list in the continuation to Florence of Worcester, whence it has been inadvertently transcribed by Leland; because, forsooth, both Ninian and Trumwin had been bishops of the Picts at opposite sides of the island. See before, *Annals of the Picts*, under the year 681.

"Rex Northumbriæ tenuit totam terram *Northumbriæ*, videlicet à flumine de *Humbra*, usque ad mare Scociæ [æstu-

2. OF THE NEW FOUNDATION.

DCCXXXI. Of the province of the Northumbrians, over whom king Ceolwulf presides, four bishops now hold the prelacy: Wilfred in the church of York, Edilwald in that of Lindisfarn, Acca, in that of Hexham, Pecthelm in that which is called Whit-hern, which lately, the people of the faithful, being multiplied, annexed to the pontifical see, hath himself its first bishop.

DCCXXXIII. [Sanctus Acca episcopus] episcopatus sui vigintesimo quarto de sede sua fugatus est, et, ut quibusdam videtur, postea octo annis vixit. Nam anno dominicæ incarnationis 740, sicut historiæ testantur, tredecim kalendas Novem-

arium, scilicet, *Bodotriæ*, ad Agricolæ et Taciti tempora, hodiè le *firth of Forth*], cum territorio, sive comitatibus, *Lancastriæ*, *Westmorlandiæ*, et *Cumberlandiæ:* et habuit in regno suo archiepiscopatum *Eboracensem*, . . . et habet episcopatum *Dunolmiæ*, . . . et eciam isti regno episcopatus *Candidæ casæ*, sive *Galeweyæ* est subjectus." J. Bromton, co. 801.

bris de presenti seculo sublatus est. . . . Sunt tamen qui dicunt, quod, eo tempore, episcopalem sedem in Candida [casa] inceperit et præparaverit.*

DCCXXXIII. Saint Acca the bishop in the twenty-fourth year of his episcopacy was banished from his see, and, as it appears to some, lived eight years afterward: for in the 740th year of the lords incarnation, as histories witness, on the 13th of the calends of November he was lifted up from this present life . . . There are, nevertheless, those who say, that in that time, he had begun and prepared an episcopal seat in Candida-casa.

DCCXXXV. 'Pectelmus' Candidæ-casæ præsul obiit, cui Frithwaldus in pontificatus regimine successit.†

* Richardus prior Hagustaldensis, co. 297, 298. Bede, it is true, mentions an Acca, who went to Rome with Wilfrid, and was bishop of *Hexham*, in 731, when he finished his history. Richards hearsay is no authority for so remote a fact.

† Flo. Wigor. 573.

DCCXXXV. Pecthelm, bishop of Whit-hern died, to whom Frithwald succeeded in the regimen of the bishopric.

DCCLXIII. Frithewoldus Hwitternensis ecclesiæ antistes nonis Maii defungitur: pro quo Pechtwinus, 16 calendas Augusti, in regione quæ dicitur Ælfete consecratus episcopatu fungitur.*

DCCLXIII. Frithwald, bishop of the church of Whithern, departed on the nones of May: for whom Pechtwin being consecrated, on the 16th of the calends of August, in the region which is called Ælfete, performs the functions of the bishopric.

DCCLXXVII. Pecwine episcopus Candidæcasæ migravit ad dominum, cui Ethelbricth successit.†

* Flo. Wigor. 574. *Ælfete* is conjectured to be that part of the city of Durham which is now called *Old* and *New Elvet.*

† R. de Hoveden, 404. H. of Huntingdon calls the former bishop *Witwine*, and places his death in 774.

DCCLXXVII. Pectwine, bishop of Whit-hern, migrated to the lord, to whom Ethelbert succeeded.

DCCLXXXIX. Ethelbert episcopus, sua sede relicta, sancto Gilberto defuncto, episcopatum Haugustaldensem in propriam accepit dominationem.*

DCCLXXXIX. Bishop Ethelbert, his see being left, saint Gilbert being defunct, received the bishopric of Hexham into his own domination.

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* R. de Hoveden, 404. W. of Malmesbury, having enumerated, beside Ninian (as before) and Pethelm, Frethewald, Pecwine, Ethelbrith, Beadulf, says, "nec præterea plures alicubi reperio, quod cito defecerit episcopatus, qui extrema Anglorum in ora est, et *Scottorum* vel *Pictorum* depopulatione opportuna." (*De gestis pontificum*, L. 3, p. 273.) In the ignorant and sophisticated list inserted, by some monk, in, or after, the continuation to Florence of Worcester, as Trumwin is the first, so Heathored is the last; Trumwin being bishop of Lothian, and Heathored bishop of Hexham (where, it is true, he had succeeded Ethelbert); and neither having ever had anything to do at Whit-hern. See R. prior Hagustal, C. 18.

DCCXC. Baldwlf ad Candidam casam ordinatur episcopus, in loco qui dicitur Hearrahaldh, quod interpretari potest locus dominorum.

DCCXC. Baldulf is ordained bishop at Whithern, in a place which is called Hearrahaldh, which may be interpreted the place of lords.

MCXXIV-MCXXX. "Honorius episcopus servus servorum dei dilecto filio electo de Candidacasa salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cui alii à domine præesse conceditur, nulla suis digne subesse prelatis superbia communicantur; ideoque per presentia scripta tibi mandamus, ut ad carissimum fratrem nostrum Thomam Eboracensem archiepiscopum, tanquam ad proprium metropolitanum tuum consecrandus accedas; et ab ipsius manu, presente sancti spiritus gratia cum humilitatis devotione consecrationem accipias. Data Laterani quinto idus Decembris."

Mo. Aug. III, 145.

MCXXXIV. Vir venerabilis Thurstinus archiepiscopus [Eboracencis] ordinavit 'episcopum,' Gilaldanum Candidæ casæ, hoc est Herwicernensi [l. Hwiternensi] ecclesiæ.*

MCXXXIV. The venerable man Thurstan archbishop of York ordained a bishop, namely, Gilaldan of the church of Whit-hern.

MCLIV. Christianus in episcopum Galwaiæ eodem die, quo, et rex Angliæ Henricus, ab archiepiscopo Rotomogensi, apud Bermundeseiam, consecratus est.†

MCLXXXVI. "Obiit piæ memoriæ Christianus episcopus de Candida casa, nonas Octobris, apud Holmcultram."‡

* Stubbs, co. 1720; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, 148.

† *Chro. Sanctæ-crucis Edin.*

‡ *Chronica de Mailros.* 1176. "Cardinalis Vivianus . . . ad *castellum Puellarum* [*sci. Edinburgh castle*] veniens, concilium ibi cum episcopis et viris ecclesiasticis regni Scotiæ

MCLXXXVI. Christian, bishop of Whithern, of pious memory, died on the nones of October, at Holmcultram.

MCXC. Apud abbathiam de Pipewell, die dominica, xvii. die Septembris, Johannes, electus Candidæ casæ, consecratus est in episcopum à Johanne Dublenensi archiepiscopo.*

MCXC. At the abbey of Pipewell, on the lords day, the 17th day of September, John elect of Whit-hern, was consecrated bishop by John archbishop of Dublin.

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de statutis ecclesiæ celebravit: in quo concilio *Christianum* episcopum *Candidæ casæ* ab officio episcopali suspendit, eo quod ipse ad illud concilium venire recusavit. Dicebat enim idem episcopus episcopatum suum ad legantiam Eboracensis [archi]episcopi qui eum in episcopum consecraverat, secundum antiquam prædecessorum utriusque consuetudinem pertinere: et ipse Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus . . . episcopatus *Candidæ casæ* juri suo et suæ ecclesiæ vendicabat." (J. Bromton, co. 1111.)

* J. Bromton, co. 1162. He was suffragan of the church of York in the same year. (R. de Diceto, co. 653.)

MCCVI. Johannes Candidæ casæ episcopus, abjecta sindone curæ pastoralis, ut expedicitius mundum fugeret, apud Sanctam Crucem, juxta castrum puellarum, habitum religionis suscepit.*

MCCVI. John, bishop of Whit-hern, the surplice of pastoral care being thrown away, that he might the more expeditiously fly the world, at Holy-rood, near Maiden-castle, took up the habit of religion.

MCCIX. Obiit episcopus Johannes Candidæ casæ, cui successit Walterus, camerarius Alani filii Rolandi.†

MCCIX. John bishop of Whit-hern died, to whom succeeded Walter, the chamberlain of Allan, the son of Rowland.

MCCXXXV. Obiit dominus W. episcopus Can-

* *Scotichronicon*, I, 520. † *Chro. de Mailros.*

didæ casæ: dominica prima quadragesima electus est dominus Gilbertus magister de Melros, et quondam abbas de Glenlus, in episcopum, tam a clero, quam ab universo populo Galwethiæ, excepto priore et conventu de Witerne. Dominica autem qua cantatur *Oculi mei*, supradictus prior, cum suo conventu, scilicet, Odonem, quondam abbatem de Deretonsal, et protinus cum eo ad archiepiscopum Eboracensem, Walterum, scilicet, Gray, postulans ab eo munus consecrationis, sed minimé percepit. Audierat, enim de prima electione; unde causis ex utraque parte excussis Odonem reprobavit, et supradictum G. monachum Melrosensem in episcopum consecravit.*

MCCXXXV. The lord Walter, bishop of Whithern, died; on the first sunday of quadragesima was elected Gilbert master of Melros, and, formerly, abbot of Glenlus, to be bishop, as well by the clergy, as by the universal people of Galloway, except the prior and convent of Whit-hern. On the sunday, however, on which is sung *Oculi mei*, the aforesaid prior, with his convent, namely, Odo, formerly abbot of Deretonsal, and next with him

* *Chro. de Mailros.*

to the archbishop of York, Walter Gray that is, requiring from him the reward of consecration, but by no means received it: For he had heard of the first election; whence, the reasons, on each side, being discussed, he reprobated Odo, and consecrated the aforesaid G. monk of Melros bishop.

MCCLIII. Obiit dominus Gilbertus episcopus Candidæ casæ; post quem electus est dominus Henricus electus . . . à Waltero Eboraci archiepiscopo.*

MCCLIII. Gilbert, bishop of Whit-hern died; after whom was elected the lord Henry by Walter archbishop of York.

MCCCIX. Thomas, bishop of Galloway, in 1296, was bishop here in this year: they were, apparently, different titles of the same bishoprick.†

MCCCXXI. Simon, "divina miseratione Candidæ casæ humilis minister." ‡

* *Chro. de Mailros.* † Keith, 162.
‡ *Chro. de Mailros.*

MCCCXXXIV. Henry is bishop Candidæ casæ.*

MCCCLIX. Michael bishop of Galloway.*

MCCCLIX. Adam de Lanark "episcopus Candidæ casæ." He is, likewise, called "Magister Adam de Lanark de Galloway in Scotia;" which further proves *Whitern* and *Galloway* only different denominations for one and the same bishoprick.*

MCCCLXII. Thomas is bishop of *Galloway*.*

MCCCLXVIII-IX. Andrew is bishop Candidæ casæ.*

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* Keith, p. 162.

MCCCCV. "Elisæus episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCXV. "Thomas episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCXXVI. "Alexander episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCLI. Thomas Spence bishop of Galloway, or Candida casa, is indiscriminately so called.*

MCCCCLIX. Ninian "episcopus de Galloway."*

MCCCCLXXXIX. George Vaus.*

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* Keith, p. 162.

MDVIII. James Bethune, prior of Whit-hern, became bishop of the see of Galloway.*

MDXIX. David Arnot, bishop of Galloway, is designed "Davide Candidæ casæ, &c. episcopo."*

MDXXVI. Henry was bishop of this see, and stiled bishop of Galloway, though one of his officers is designed "officialis Candidæ casæ."*

MDXLI. Andrew Drurie was the last popish bishop of Galloway; but the title of "episcopus Candidæ casæ" neither appears to have been used by him, nor was ever so afterward.* In a short time, after, there was no longer a bishop in Scotland, and it is much to be wished there were none anywhere else.

* Keith, p. 162.

Annals of Murray.

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Thomas Innes, in his *Critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, or Scotland* (p. 159), having observed that "Though the name [of Picts] came to be disused, yet the people themselves, of the Pictish race, still subsisted under the name of Galweyenses, from the province where they dwelt," adds, "so it probably happened in other provinces of Scotland, such as Moravia, Murray, whence the Picts of these parts have been called Moravienses, as those in Galloway were called Galweyenses;* and perhaps, from the Picts in Murray being so called may have taken rise that tradition mentioned by some writers of the Murray men, Moravienses, their coming into Albany at first,

* There is, at least, this difference in the two instances: the natives of Galloway are by ancient writers expressly called *Picti* as well as *Galweyenses*, which is by no means the case with respect to those of Murray.

under one Rodricus, and giving origine to, as some say, or rather joining the Picts in ancient times." The writers, or authorities, he quotes are "Boeth. l. 4, f. 54, 55, 56, n. 38;* Usser, p. 303;" and "Math. Westm. ad an. 75, p. 55." Pinkerton, also, in his *Enquiry into the history of Scotland* (volume I, p. 348) asserts that "The Moravians were Piks, as," he says, "Fordun tells, lib. II, c. 30." And, again (volume II, p. 231), that "the Moravienses or inhabitants of the large province of Moray, ... were not Scoti but Picti, down to the thirteenth century, as appears from Fordun and others." The original author, however, of this opinion, whom Matthew of Westminster implicitly transcribes, and whom Fordun expressly quotes, is no other than the notorious romancer Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose credit is not, at present, whatever it might be in the times of Bois, or Fordun, and Matthew of Westminster, a sufficient voucher even for a historical fact much nearer his own age, and of still less importance, than the establishment or continuance of Picts in Murray. See his *Britannie regum origo*, &c. Paris, 1508, L. 4, c. 17.

* In p. 176, however, he says, "The inhabitants of Murray are supposed by Boece himself to be of a different extraction, both from the Picts and Scots;" and quotes "Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 56, edit. I." He is not worth looking into.

How far it is supported or countenanced by the few events recorded of the above province by authentic historians will be seen in the following extracts. The fact, however, that the Picts were actual possessors of this territory at an earlier period, is no way affected by the present enquiry, nor intended to be called in question.*

* "Moraviam et Rossiam Cantæ . . . . habitavere. Quod vero scribit Boethius, Moravos tempore Claudii imperatoris [ex Moravia, Pannoniæ regione quadam juxta Danubii flumen] in Scotiam classe devectos, falsissimum esse ex historiis liquet. Nam Slavorum gens, e quibus Moravi initium sumsere, mundo usque ad tempus circa annum domini DC. incognita erat; et Marcomanni et Quadi illa loca incoluere, quæ postea anno DCCCC. sub Arnulpho a Zuentebaldo, Slavorum rege, Moraviæ regnum appellari cœpere." Llwyd, p. 62.

ANNALS OF MURRAY.

ANNALES MORAVIENSES.

DCCCCIV. 'Dovenaldus' filius Constantini . . . opidum Fother occisum [l. Fores occisus] est a gentibus.*

ANNALS OF MURRAY.

DCCCCIV. Donald, the son of Constantine, was killed at the town of Fores by the gentiles (*i. e.* pagan Danes.)

DCCCCXLV. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolam perexit in MOREB, et occidit Celach.†

* *Excerpta ex veteri chronico de regibus Scotorum, apud* Innes, *Critical essay, Ap. Num.* III. "Dovenal Mac-Constantin . . . Mortuus est in Fores." *Nomina regum Scottorum* (*Ex registro prioratus S. Andreæ*), Ibi. Num. V.

"In villa fertur rex iste perisse Forensi."

Chronicon elegiacum.

"In MURRAWE syne he murthrysyd was
In-til the town is calld Foras."

Wyntown, (B. VI. c. ix.)

† *Excerpta, &c. ut supra. Cellach* is an Irish name.

DCCCCXLV. Malcolm, with his army, marched into Murray, and killed Kellach.

DCCCCLIII. Occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach. i. in Claideom.*

DCCCCLIII. The men of na-Morne slew Malcolm in Fodresach, that is, in Claideom.

DCCCCLXV. Duff Mac-Malcolm interfectus in Fores, et absconditus sub ponte de Kinlos; et sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit.†

* *Excerpta, &c. ut supra.* "Malcom Mac-Dovenald . . . Interfectus in Ulurn a Moraviensibus [per dolum]." *Nomina regum Scottorum, ut supra.*

Interfecerunt in Wlru Moravienses
Gentis apostatice fraude doloque cadit.
Chro. elegiacum.

Fodresach is, possibly, a corruption of *Fores;* as, according to mr. Macpherson, *Moerne* (which is also twice mentioned in the ancient tract *De situ Albaniæ*) may be of *Murray;* rather, perhaps, of *Mar*, or *Morven*, as coupled with *Angus.*

† *Nomina regum, &c.*—966. Duv Mac Maolcolum, king of

DCCCCLXV. Duff, the son of Malcolm, was killed in Fores, and hid under the bridge of Kinlos; and the sun did not appear so long as he lay there.

MXXXII. Gilcomgan MacMaolbryd, murmor of *Mureve*, burnt with 50 men about him.*

MXXXVII. Donchath Mac-'Crini' abbatis de Dunkeld et Bethoc filia Malcom-Mac-Kinat . . . . Interfectus à Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouanan.†

Scotland, killed by Scotsmen themselves. *Annales Ultonienses*, MS.

Hunc interfecit gens perfida Moraviensis,
Cujus erat gladiis cesus in urbe Fores.
Chro. elegiacum.

* *An. Ul.* *Murmor* is *thane* or *earl.* See O'Flaherty, p. 383. *Gilcomgan Mac Maolbryd* is an Irish name, meaning the servant of st. Comgan, the son of the devotee of st. Bridget.

† *Nomina regum, &c.*

A Fynlake natus percussit eum Makabeda;
Vulnere letali rex apud Elgyne obit.
Chro. elegia.

Macbeth, as appears from Wyntown, was at this time "thayne of *Morave.*"

MXXXVII. Duncan, the son of Crinan abbot of Dunkeld, and of Bethoc daughter of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth . . . was killed by Macbeth the son of Finleg in Bothgouanan [near Elgin].

MLXXXV. Maolsnechta Mac-Lulay king of Mureb [sic f. mortuus est].*

MLXXXV. Maolsnechta Mac-Lulach king of Murray, died.

MCXVI. Logman Macdonald, sons son to the king of Scotland, killed by the men of Murray.†

MCXXX. Angus, comes Muravensis, interfectus est, cum gente sua, à Scottis.‡

* *An. Ul.* Lulach, the father of this Maolsnechta, was king of Scotland, and the immediate successor of Macbeth.

† *Ibi.*

‡ *Cronica de Mailros.*—" 1130. A battle between Scots-men and the men of Moreb, where 4000 of the men of Moreb,

MCXXX. Angus, earl of Murray, was slain, with his people, by the Scots.

MCLXXXVII. Willelmus, rex Scotiæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Moraviam, ad debellandum quendam hostem suum, qui nominabatur Mach-Willam: qui etiam dicebat se regia stirpe genitum; et de jure parentum suorum (ut

with their king, were slain. Eneas, son to Lulays daughter, killed 1000 Scots in a retyre." *An. Ul.*—According to Ordericus Vitalis, under this year, while king David, in the court of king Henry, warily sought after judgement, and, about the guilt of perfidy, which Geoffrey de Clinton, as they say, had agitated against the king, diligently discussed, Aragois [Angus] earl of Murray, with Melcolfus [Malcolm, bastard son of Alexander] and 5000 of armed men entered Scotland, and studied to subject the whole region to himself. Moreover Edward, the son of Syward, who, under king Edward [the confessor], was earl of the Mercians, chief of the militia, and cousin of king David, collected an army, and suddenly met that of the enemy. At length, the battle being fought, he slew Aragois [Angus] the earl, and prostrated, took, and put to flight, his forces. Afterward, with his cohorts, now elated with triumph, he eagerly followed the fugitives, and entered Murray, wanting its defender and lord: and obtained, god assisting, the whole duchy of that spacious region. (P. 702.) Lord Hailes, who professes to know nothing of this Malcolm the bastard, might easily have discovered something more about him in Ethelreds description of the battle of the Standard.

asserebat) regnum Scotiæ calumpnabatur: et multa et incommoda faciebat sæpe Willelmo regi Scotiæ, per consensum et consilium comitum et baronum regni Scotiæ. Considerans itaque præfatus Willelmus rex, quod oporteret eum regnum Scotiæ amittere, vel prædictum Mach-Willam interficere, vel etiam à finibus regni sui expellere; in Moraviam profectus, constituit super exercitum suum tribunos et centuriones. Dixitque ad populum,* Egrediar et ego vobiscum; et respondit populus, Non exibis: Melius est enim, ut sis nobis in urbe præsidium. Ad quos rex ait, Quod vobis videtur rectum, hoc faciam. Et remansit rex in castello quod dicitur Ylvernis; et misit comites et barones suos, cum Scottis et Galwensibus, ad debellandum prædictum hostem suum. Cumque profecti essent, orta est inter principes seditio; quidam vero illorum regem diligebant minime, quidam vero diligebant. Et hii procedere volebant, sed ceteri non permiserunt. Cumque contendissent, placuit eis, quod principes exercitus remanerent, et præmitterent exploratores, ut cibum caperent. Elegerunt ergo juvenes bellicosos fere tria millia, quos miserunt ad quærendum præfatum regis inimicum. Inter quos familia Rolandi, filii Uctredi, erat; ad cujus

* 2 *Sam.* xviii, 2, 3, 4.

nutum omnium pendebat sententia. Cum vero appropinquasset exercitum præfati Willelmi, insultum fecerunt in illos, et interfecerunt ipsum Willelmum, et multos de exercitu suo; et reliquam partem fugere compulerunt; et eorum spolia inter se diviserunt; et caput prædicti Willelmi abscissum detulerunt secum, et præsentaverunt illud regi Scotiæ. Et sic prostrato illo, pax magna facta est in regno Scotiæ.*

MCLXXXVII. William, king of Scotland, having assembled a great army, went into Murray, to subdue an enemy, who was called Mac-William; who also said that he was born of the royal family; and in the right of his parents (as he asserted) claimed the kingdom of Scotland: and did often many and troublesome things to William king of Scotland, through the consent and counsel of the earls and barons of the realm of Scotland. The aforesaid king William, considering, therefore, that it would behove him to lose the kingdom of Scotland, or to kill the aforesaid Mac-William, or at least to expel him from the bounds of his kingdom; being come into Murray, constituted over his army tri-

* Benedictus abbas, p. 469.

bunes and centurions: and said unto the people, "I will surely go forth with you myself also:" But the people answered, "Thou shalt not go forth: for it is better that thou succour us out of the city:" To whom the king said, "What seemeth you best I will do." And the king remained in a castle, which is called Inverness; and sent his earls and barons, with the Scots and Galwegians, to subdue his aforesaid enemy. And when they were departed, a sedition arose among the chiefs; for some of them loved the king not at all, but some did love him. And these wished to proceed, but the rest permitted it not. And when they had contended, it pleased them, that the chiefs of the army should remain, and should send before scouts, that they might take food. They, therefore, chose almost three thousand warlike youths, whom they sent to seek the aforesaid enemy of the king: among whom was the family of Rowland, the son of Uchtred; on whose will depended the opinion of all. Now, when he had approached the army of the aforesaid William, they made an attack upon them, and killed William himself, and many of his army; and the remaining part they compelled to fly; and they divided their spoils among themselves; and, having cut off the head of the aforesaid William, they brought it with them, and presented it to the king

of Scotland: And so, he being prostrated, great peace was made in the realm of Scotland.

MCXCVII. Ortum est prælium in Morevia, juxta castrum Invernis, inter homines regis, et Rodericum, et Thorphinum filium comitis Haraldi; sed, deo procurante, regis hostes in fugam versi sunt, et prædictus Rodericus, cum multis aliis, cæsus interiit. . . . Postmodum idem rex Willielmus, cum exercitu suo, profectus est in Mureviam, et in ceteras remotiores terræ suæ partes, ubi Haraldum comitem cepit, eumque in castello de Rokesburch observari fecit, donec Thorfinus, filius ejus, se pro patre suo obsidem daret.*

MCXCVII. A battle was arisen, in Murray, near the castle of Inverness, between the kings men, and Roderick and Thorfin, son of earl Harold; but, god superintending, the kings enemies were turned into flight, and the aforesaid Roderick, with many others, being wounded, perished. Afterward, the same king William, with his army,

* *Chro. de Mailros.*

marched into Murray, and into the other more remote parts of his land, where he took earl Harold, and caused him to be kept in the castle of Roxburgh, until Thorfin his son should give himself a hostage for his father.

MCCXV. Intraverunt in Moreviam hostes domini regis Scotiæ, scilicet, Dovenaldus filius Macwillielmi, et Kennauhtmacht, et filius cujusdam regis Hiberniæ, cum turba malignantium copiosa: in quos irruens Machentagar, hostes regis validè prostravit, quorum capite detruncavit, et novo regi munera præsentavit, XVII. kalendas Julii, propter quod dominus rex novum militem ipsum ordinavit.*

MCCXV. The enemies of the lord the king of Scotland entered into Murray, to wit, Donald the son of Macwilliam, and Kennahmacht, and the son of a certain king of Ireland, with a copious multitude of malignants: upon whom Machentagart falling furiously, he stoutly prostrated the kings

* *Chro. de Mailros.* He was, afterward, created earl of Ross.

enemies, whose heads he cut off, and presented as gifts to the new king, the 17th of the calends of July, for which the lord the king created him a new knight.

THE END.

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